

# Peace News

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AMERICANS ACT AGAINST TESTS

## The sailing of the Golden Rule

### 300 Quakers in silent Meeting at dockside

THREE hundred Quakers with many other people gathered for a dock-side Quaker Meeting the day before the ketch, the Golden Rule, sailed for Eniwetok in an attempt to stop the US nuclear tests in the Pacific in April.

The following eye-witness account of the departure was written as a letter by a California Quaker to the wife of one of the four members of the crew.

February 10.

"I have just returned to Pasadena this memorable afternoon after bidding good-bye to the crew of the Golden Rule. Four boats filled with newsmen and other well-wishers accompanied the Golden Rule beyond the breakwater and about three miles out into the Pacific.

"The last two days have been hectic with everyone strained. The Meeting For Worship on the occasion of their departure on Sunday afternoon was a moving religious experience. About 300 Quakers and many others assembled at 3 p.m. yesterday in the sheltered boat yards to hear brief statements from the men, to hear Ed Sanders talk about 'our responsibility,' and then enter into twenty minutes of shared silence in which four persons were moved to speak. "We took our four children to the Meeting—we couldn't keep them away after Bert Bigelow (one of the crew) had stayed in our

### SUPPORT THESE MEN

The Golden Rule is expected to reach Hawaii on the first leg of the trip to Eniwetok about March 1. Air letters and cables of support may be sent to the Golden Rule, c.o. Nicholson, 5002 Maunaloa Circle, Honolulu 16, Hawaii.

home. Janice (10), David (8), and Jonathan (5) have drawn a sailing ship on a jar which is on our kitchen table. It reminds us daily of the courageous men who are bearing testimony on the high seas. Bert, in thanking all the people who had helped—and there were many—could not help mentioning our boy, Jonathan.

"People were wonderful. One doctor gave a medical kit. Another person bought and gave the radio. Still another gave \$25 in vitamins. Another a geiger counter. Another food. Two persons gave the use of their cars. And so I could go on.

"I went out to sea in a 'water-taxi' that had been engaged by a sympathetic photographer. When we were beyond the breakwater, I saw Bert Bigelow shout something to Lester Marsh (the builder of the boat) over his megaphone. And heard Lester

# REVOLT AGAINST H-BOMB BEGINS

## London meetings open campaign

Reported by Constance Willis, Margaret Tims, Gene Sharp and Bernard Boothroyd

WELL over 5,000 people packed Central Hall, Westminster, and four overflow meetings in the opening round of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on February 17, raising a total of £1,750 plus two dollar bills and a 500 franc note.

Speaker after distinguished speaker in the Central Hall hammered home the purpose of the campaign: Britain must renounce the Bomb. In the name of Christianity (Canon Collins); in the name of common humanity (J. B. Priestley); in the name of security (Sir Stephen King-Hall); in the name of survival (Earl Russell); in the name of morality (A. J. P. Taylor); in the name of sanity (Michael Foot) Britain must abandon her policy of massive retaliation and lead the world back to the way of peace and progress.

## PARLIAMENT AND THE PEOPLE'S WILL

An Editorial

EIGHTY per cent of the voters in the Rochdale by-election cast their votes for candidates who were opposed to the policies of both the Government and the Labour Party in regard to the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

As The Times Political Correspondent remarked last Friday, however, the Government will not let the Conservative defeat "deflect them from further unpopular measures, nor bring about . . . a Government retreat on the question of unilateral nuclear disarmament."

Every election shows that the impact of the vote of the elector on the policy actually to be carried out becomes less.

### The vote alone is not enough

In that election, those who were opposed to the present policy on nuclear arms had the choice between voting for a candidate who would never be called upon to implement the undertakings he was giving, and a candidate whose view would be over-ruled by the decisions of his party in Parliament.

It is increasingly evident that the citizen today cannot look forward to his vote every five years, plus an occasional by-election, as by itself an effective way of expressing his convictions even on issues of life and death that affect the whole future of the race. It has become necessary to seek additional and more direct means of acquainting the nation's rulers with the desires of the people; something more than electoral action is needed.

The British public has never been consulted on any of the major aspects of British military and international policy—the manufacture of the A-bomb, the installation of American bases, the testing and manufacture of the H-bomb. Despite this and despite the growing disquiet as to where this policy is leading, plans are now proceeding—with an equal lack of popular consultation, because both the main parties will pursue the same policy—for the building of rocket-launching sites in Britain. The H-bombers are already flying overhead. The Russian nuclear weapons programme proceeds. The US is planning new Pacific experiments.

The reversal of the policy of the Government on Suez was not brought about by the use of the vote. It took among other things people by their thousands pouring into the streets, marching in their hundreds for hours through London, and demonstrating down Whitehall to Parliament Square. The four Americans who are risking their lives by sailing to the Pacific test area to stop the new planned series are an example of the character of the action that is now required.

### Plan for direct action

The march to Aldermaston during Easter as a protest against the nuclear programme, and the plans under consideration for a march from Southern England to the proposed rocket sites in Scotland are examples of the kind of initiative to demonstrate the depth of popular feeling that is called for.

We believe that if the popular will is to be reflected in the policy of the Government much more direct action of this character will be needed. Action will be necessary from both individuals and groups.

Similar appeals were being made simultaneously at other halls by Ritchie Calder, Alex Comfort, Professor Rothblat and Rev. St. J. B. Grosz.

This campaign, said Canon Collins from the chair, would enable many thousands of loyal citizens—pacifists and non-pacifists alike—to become articulate in their determination to rid the world of the threat of horrible destruction.

There was little doubt of the mood of the huge audience. The loudest applause came for appeals to morality and conscience: Britain must renounce nuclear weapons to save her soul, as well as her skin.

As A. J. P. Taylor put it: "We shall do both; we shall not suffer for our principles in this campaign, for we shall be more secure without the bomb."

What civilised human being, asked Mr. Taylor, would accept the responsibility of pressing the button and releasing an H-bomb, thereby killing up to 5,000,000 people and condemning children not yet born to be maimed, blind, cripples, idiots and monsters?

The presence of missile bases in this country, he said, made it absolutely certain that we should be wiped out in the first week of war. Without them we had at least a fifty-fifty chance of survival.

But they had a higher duty: not only to save their skins, but to secure mankind, and for that the responsibility rested in each individually.

Recalling the example of the Suffragettes, he said: "Let no politician appear on a platform to advocate the use of nuclear weapons without being branded 'Murderer'!"

### Star performer—that White Paper

Perhaps the star of the evening was the Defence White Paper, which was quoted repeatedly by speakers as evidence of the insanity and immorality of the Government's policy.

The insanity of it was emphasised by Michael Foot. The Government, he said, pinned its faith on massive retaliation, and threat of nuclear weapons was regarded as a primary factor in world politics.

Further, they state that they would hit back with nuclear weapons even against a conventional attack.

But they also admit that it would be impossible to defend Britain against nuclear attack, thus implying that the doctrine of massive retaliation, if acted upon, would involve the destruction of this country.

Most speakers gave weight to the danger of the world war starting by sheer accident.

### Defending what?

"What are we trying to defend with these nuclear weapons?" asked Cmdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall. If it is "our way of life," as we are told, then he would ask: "What is the use of a way of life without life?"

Regarding the matter from a strictly military point of view, he said that on strategic grounds alone, nuclear energy should be eliminated from our defence policies.

There was a direct expenditure of £1,500,000,000 based on the foundation of using nuclear energy for military purposes. At the root of this foundation was the

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## The answer to Duncan Sandys . . . TOTAL PEACE—WE SAY YES!

Hear Emrys Hughes, MP, Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, DBE, Stuart Morris and others

Chairman: SYBIL MORRISON

Organised by the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

CAXTON HALL, Caxton Street, S.W.1.

MONDAY, MARCH 3rd at 7.30 p.m.



# The Westminster rallies

□ FROM PAGE ONE

H-bomb—the “great deterrent.” Then there was the tactical smaller weapon, now supplied to NATO forces, to make up for our inferiority to Russia in non-nuclear forces.

“And we are asked,” he said, “to believe that the existence of these so-called smaller tactical weapons means we can fight a nuclear war and keep it limited.”

## Retaliation by suicide

This school of thought had been put into a White Paper which said that, if Russia launched an attack even with conventional weapons, we would “hit back with strategic nuclear weapons.”

And it goes on to say that the Allied defence forces in Europe would have to hold the front while the effects of that nuclear attack made themselves felt.

One effect would be, of course, that our nuclear attack would produce a Russian reply likely to reduce this country to a radio-active heap.

The second effect would be the genetic consequences upon generations yet unborn of such survivors as might escape. Those would go on into eternity.

## Meet the Russians—in Heaven?

We were told the purpose of these defences was “to defend our way of life.”

To what extent did we seem likely to fulfil that purpose? Rather indifferently, if they were to believe the Defence Minister.

“I admire his candour,” said Sir Stephen. “All our armed forces can, in fact, do is to protect themselves and the bomber bases.”

“So that simultaneously, or immediately after you are incinerated, you are to be joined in the Hereafter by a very large number of Russians.”

And as for those chances of life, a senior Civil Service official recently stated that the Government thought we might get five minutes warning, and that the plan was to evacuate 40 per cent of the population from the industrial areas, and leave in them the able-bodied men and childless women.

It was clear that the Government had not, and could not have, any coherent solution to the problem of nuclear defence.

As the White Paper admitted, the present state of affairs “might, through some unforeseen circumstance, start off a world-wide catastrophe.”

## Violence is out of date

But it was not true to say there was no alternative. An alternative emerged from acceptance of the following facts:

(1) That the use of nuclear energy for military purposes has created a defence problem which is not relatively new but absolutely new, and calls for an absolutely new strategic approach. We must break through the thought barrier—which was not easy, as we had been thinking on conventional lines for hundreds of years.

(2) Although, since the beginning of history, the use of violence had been accepted as the correct reply to threats

of violence, nuclear energy is so violent that to use this violence was worse than useless.

It should therefore be renounced as a basis of defence. Great Britain should make a formal renunciation and invite like-minded nations to join her, and the whole situation should be brought under the control of the United Nations.

That decision would have far-reaching consequences, some hazardous, some hopeful. It meant revising the nature of our alliance with America.

In World Wars I and II we led the way, and, in due course, the Americans made their contribution to violence.

But now violence had become worse than useless we should say to the Americans: “We are once again giving you a lead. We are bringing our thinking about war up to date, and we hope you will too.”

## Don't be a Fifth Columnist

The next hazard, if we gave up nuclear weapons, was that it would also involve scaling down our ordinary conventional forces to police force measures.

Russia could occupy Britain. These islands were more liable to invasion by conventional weapons than ever before in history.

“But,” said Sir Stephen, “if anyone thinks that an enemy occupation of these islands is the end, I must tell you that you are a fifth columnist.”

It might be the end of a battle, but not the end of the war. In the full strategy which I recommend, it might well be an opportunity for engaging the enemy more closely in the ideological battle.”

It was a fault in our present defence arrangements, he said, that no thought whatever was given to that point.

## Contact the Russian people

The three points of the policy he recommended were:

(1) An enormous reduction in expenditure—about £800,000,000. This would make

possible large scale political and economic activities in the cold war.

Also, a massive effort should be made to establish the greatest contact with the Russian people. He would like to see 100,000 Russians invited over here.

(2) It would give Britain the moral leadership of the non-nuclear nations.

(3) As a group of non-nuclear nations we should regain the initiative in the cold war. We should present Khrushchov with a difficult problem because we should have out-peace-loved him.

The long-term hope of peace could only rest on the emergence beyond the Iron Curtain of a free and informed public opinion. There were signs among Russian students that public opinion was beginning to emerge. “An initiative on the lines I recommend would assist it.”

## Destiny points to Britain

Sir Stephen's concluding reflection was: If this nuclear race went on, in a few years several other nations would have nuclear weapons. If we allowed that to happen we should have reached the point of no return.

One nuclear power must have the vision and courage to reverse this process before it is too late. And whether we like it or not, the finger of destiny points to us.

Milton's words were never more true than they are today: “Let not England forget her precedence in teaching the nations how to live.”

## Hysterical—and moon-struck

Mr. J. B. Priestley said what worried him most was that in all this nuclear business nothing had been thought through to a conclusion.

He believed the whole thing was a mixture of hysteria, fear, and a kind of collective malice.

We had, he said, two types of mind at the back of the business. First, the routine minds that went on dealing with weapons that were really earthquakes and pestilences as if they were still dealing with muskets and spears.

He quoted a “beautiful example” recently from Washington. Instructions were given to Civil Servants that, after an H-bomb attack (and a bomb will make a hole a mile in diameter and hundreds of yards deep), that after this attack the Civil Servant must fill in a form and take the forms to a centre to be told what to do.

But there was another more dangerous type, who had lived so long in this atmosphere of hush-hush and devilish ingenuity that they are really out of their minds.

So you read, for example, statements by Generals who say that soon we must have platforms in space a thousand miles from the earth to carry on the campaign, and later on, from the moon.

The whole atmosphere, he continued, was hysterical.

The Americans were generous people, and perhaps because of that, those two bombs they dropped at the end of the war have been on their conscience ever since, and they've been unable to think straight.

The Russians, on their side, were, he believed, dominated by fear. They keep their gigantic army because they are afraid.

We on our side, who had toddled along behind the Americans, had been the victims of vanity—we must be able to say we had those things too.

Yet those nuclear powers could give the good life to masses of people. We can give them that—but not until these instruments of madness had been banished from the face of the earth.

## Do people know the dangers?

Earl Russell, the President of the Campaign, said he was quite persuaded that this issue they were there to debate was the most important in the history of mankind.

They had various objectives: the easiest, he said, was to stop H-bomb tests, which could be done by pressure of public opinion.

People must be told how dangerous these

## The people's will

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We make the following suggestions for consideration:

- Parents might send a photograph of their child or children to their MP with a letter to tell him that as nuclear weapons threaten the lives of such children as these all over the world, they cannot in conscience vote for any candidate who does not favour complete unilateral renunciation of the bomb by Britain.
- A women's black sash vigil might be organised in connection with appropriate debates at the House of Commons.
- All support should be given to the call of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall for a serious enquiry into non-violent resistance as a defence policy to be substituted for reliance on H-bombs.
- Actions similar to that undertaken by American pacifists might be arranged in relation to both British and Russian tests.
- The Japanese conducted a policy of non-violent resistance against the proposed seizure of land at Sunagawa for an American airforce base. Similar demonstrations could be arranged for Britain in connection with the proposed rocket sites.



ABOVE: With one-tenth of their country already in the hands of the War Office, seventy-five Welshmen non-violently prevented the seizure of more land for a military camp in September, 1951. A line of Army vehicles later stretched behind this lorry from Trawsfynydd Army camp, stopped by Welsh farmers, miners, teachers, professors, housewives and clergymen. Among the leaders of the demonstration were J. E. Jones, Secretary, and Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Party). Both narrowly escaped injury by the lorry.

RIGHT: In October, 1956, first a few hundred and eventually a total of 10,000 Japanese trades unionists, Buddhist priests, 15 Socialist MPs, Socialists, students, peasants and farmers non-violently resisted the seizure of farm land to enlarge the US Tachinawa air base at Sunagawa, near Tokyo, so that it could be used for US atom bombers. Police attacks injured over 1,000 and many were arrested. Eventually, however, the resisters won and the expansion of the US air base was abandoned.



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# East still looks to Britain

LESLIE HALE, M.P., at Bristol

MANY Eastern countries still looked upon Britain as a negotiator and as capable of bringing to the world councils a sense of understanding and reconciliation, Mr. Leslie Hale, MP, told a Bristol audience last week.

And this was despite the wound scars of Suez and Cyprus.

If we could break away from our entanglements, he added, we could assume a new position in the world.

Speaking of Washington, he urged his audience not to forget the great generosity of the American people. The anti-Communist hysteria there was at last showing signs of disappearing.

The meeting was arranged by the Bristol Peace Council to discuss disarmament. Professor Dickinson of Bristol University presided.

## WE STILL IGNORE THE EAST

So far the human mind had been incapable of apprehending the magnitude of nuclear war. This was illustrated by the public's total unawareness of Chinese children starving in our own time and the sufferings of tens of thousands of refugees spread over the Middle East.

Yet modern science could be employed not to destroy, but to overcome disease, poverty, soil erosion and hunger.

China had begun her 50-year project on the Yellow River—the biggest scheme in the world—to control it and to build a reservoir the size of Wales.

But when Peking had an immense engineering exhibition, Britain had not a single

teacher or machine, because of the embargo on trade with China.

"How's that for pushing 600,000,000 people into the arms of Russia?" he said.

## ERRANDS OF MERCY, NOT DISASTER

We could send our lads and lorries on errands of mercy instead of disaster—food, medicine and a decent home for every Kikuyu woman, technical skills to our colonies, helping them towards democracy.

The knowledge that nuclear war could be triggered off by a single incident had brought a sense of urgency into our minds.

That was why it was imperative for Britain to take the lead—to refuse to countenance the H-bomb, to refuse to make it or to have it over our territory.

## Simple life—or scientific progress

### NEED FOR ADJUSTMENT TO NUCLEAR AGE

CAN the simple life as opposed to scientific progress, cope with the needs of the under-developed countries and a rising world population?

This was the challenge thrown out to the advocates of simple living on Gandhian lines by Francis Jude, the British Quaker Peace Committee Field Worker, at the Fellowship of Friends of Truth Annual Conference at Bewdley last month.

It was necessary for us, he said, to adjust our tactics to the nuclear age, just as the militarists had had to do.

## NON-VIOLENT ECONOMY

Two sessions were devoted to a lecture on "The Non-violent Economy" by Wilfred Wellock, who stressed the need of understanding our present "violent" economic system if we were to work for a non-violent one.

He gave a resumé of the growth of the Industrial Revolution, the exploitation of the Asian and African countries by the European industrialised Powers and the direct link between oppressive capitalism and the two world wars.

He defined the economic theories of Keynes and analysed the devouring

## Each one reach one



NOW—when everywhere people are questioning British defence policy, discussing nuclear disarmament—now is the time to introduce Peace News to a wider circle.

Ask your friends if they have seen the report of the Central Hall meeting.

Use the coupon below to order a dozen extra copies at half-price.

Michael Randle, Sales organiser.

N.B. If you just can't distribute a dozen extra copies next week—then do the next best thing—send a contribution to the Peace News Fund. We have received £49 16s. 3d. since Jan. 31 towards our 1958 target of £2,000, including anonymous donations from Ayrshire, £1, and Bradford, 5s.

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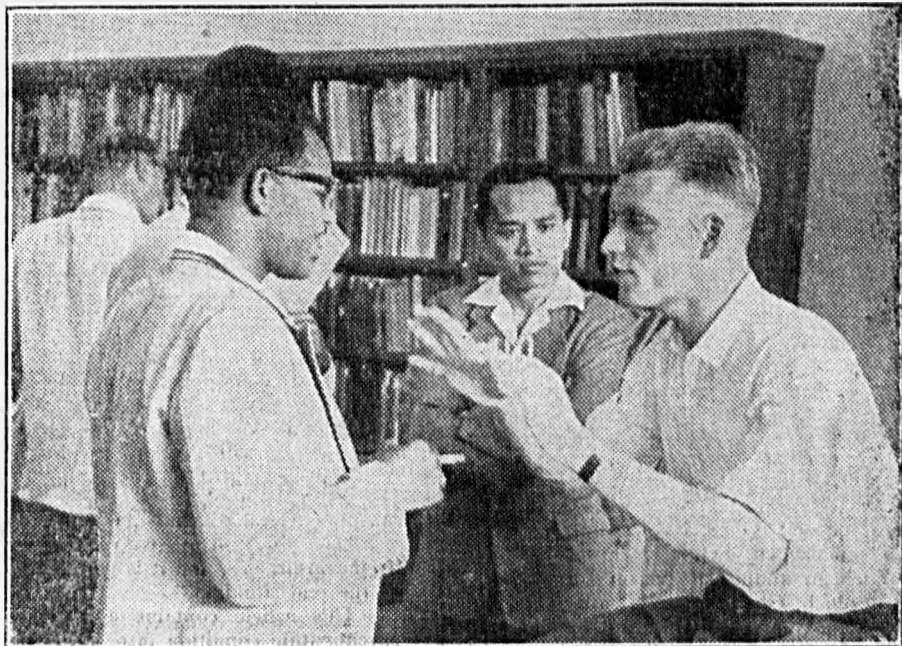
economy of the USA, which is based on these principles.

He pointed out the grave problems we face in Britain with our over-population, excess of consumers' demands over production and contracting markets.

We must either live up with America and American finance in the suicide struggle between aggressive capitalism and its offspring oppressive Communism or else disarm completely and adopt a balanced and fairly self-sufficient economy.

## Briefly

Nancy Lapwood, who spent 30 years in China in connection with Christian missions and was co-author of "Through the Chinese Revolution," and Alec Strachan, a chemistry lecturer who has spent several years as a scientist in the USA, will be speakers at this year's Easter youth holiday conference at Amersham, Bucks, April 3-8, organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Illustrated brochures giving details from 29, Great James Street, London, W.C.1.



A Jamaican, an Indonesian, and a Belgian discuss colonialism during a typical moment at the 1957 International Seminar in Vienna. These Seminars sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee bring together young people from all parts of the world to consider leading international problems and to seek for peaceful solutions. During the summer of 1958 they will be held in France, Poland, and Yugoslavia, each lasting three weeks. The themes this year will deal with differences between "East" and "West," and between Africa and Asia on the one hand and Europe on the other. After several years in Geneva, the administrative office of the Seminars has moved to the Centre Quaker International, 110 Avenue Mozart, Paris, 16e. Inquiries are welcome from all young people interested in seeking peace and world understanding.

## BASIL DELAINE IN STHN. RHODESIA WRITES ABOUT

### The casualty the ambulance couldn't help

IS the Central African Federation the only country in the world, apart from Stridom's police state, where there are both "black" and "white" ambulances? I hope so.

For the uninitiated, a "white" ambulance is one which carries only white and yellow-skinned human beings. A "black" ambulance is for human beings with black, brown or coffee-coloured skins.

In many towns of the Federation these ambulances are not inter-changeable.

But in Lusaka, capital of Northern Rhodesia, somebody has seen the light—the red light.

For it is now an order that if a "black" ambulance is not available to pick up an African, Indian or Coloured casualty, a "white" ambulance must be sent to the scene.

The case which prompted this liberal gesture was a sad one, I am told.

An African lay dying in the road. A "white" ambulance arrived.

The white nurse in charge said sorry but she understood the casualty was a white man. This man was black. How could her ambulance pick up a black man?

She also politely refused to give first-aid. After all, he wasn't a white man.

The African died.

So it was that following this nauseating example of apartheid—the umpteenth of its kind in different parts of the Federation—an order has been issued in Lusaka stating that "white" ambulances in that city will pick up anyone injured, no matter what race.

Progress.

## New threat to school for Africans

From Basil Delaine

MRS. GRACE COLEMAN—her life is the education of Africans in Southern Rhodesia and the championship of all with coloured skin—today faces a grave setback to her work.

An order from the African Education Department of the Territorial Government states that "every pressure must be exerted to prevent unemployed Africans from attending night schools."

Mrs. Coleman is founder-principal of a school, in Bulawayo—the only Secondary evening school for Africans in the Federation.

All the principals of African evening schools in the Colony have been asked to submit names of students who are known to be unemployed.

Said Mrs. Coleman:

"I have struggled for more than four years against subtle nagging opposition from the Government to keep my school open. Although we receive no aid from the Government, school inspectors visit us at every opportunity, trying hard it seems to find excuse to close the school.

"You would think they would welcome my school—that they would themselves build schools like it to help solve the gigantic problem of educating the thousands of Africans who are thirsting for knowledge. But no. Instead of help we get only hindrance. Now there is this new order which threatens to prevent us from accepting any African who is out of work, which many are."

More than 50 per cent of her present students were unemployed. Would they have to give up their studies? "I will refuse to submit any list of unemployed students," Mrs. Coleman told me.

She pointed out that the thirst for knowledge among Africans was so great that today she had nearly 200 students. She received applications from all over the Federation. Many had to be turned away.

Mrs. Coleman believes that the idea of the proposed ban on the unemployed Africans studying at night schools was probably created by authorities could not cope with increased unemployment among urban Africans and that the new order was an attempt to get young men back to the reserves in the veldt.

## CHALLENGE TO PACIFISTS

### Don't stand in isolation, says MP

"PACIFISTS should be ready to work together with all those who, whether pacifists or not, are working against this drift to war."

This was the point chiefly emphasised by Mr. E. C. Redhead, Labour pacifist MP for West Walthamstow, addressing the Edmon-ton Peace Pledge Union last month on the subject "Challenge to Pacifists."

After the first war, he said, there was an upsurge of anti-war feeling. There was a spate of anti-war books and plays, and the Oxford Union passed a resolution renouncing war at any cost. The pacifist movement grew, and culminated in Dick Sheppard's campaign and the formation of the PPU.

In 1939, however, shocked by the horrors of Nazism, many pacifists renounced their creed and supported the war.

Since then there had been no revival of pacifism. Although Nazism was defeated another totalitarian creed emerged and the world split into two armed camps—proving, as pacifists always insisted, that violence breeds violence.

It was true there was the possibility of conscription being ended, not because it was wrong, but because nuclear weapons made large armies unnecessary.

## SUPPORT ALL ANTI-WAR FORCES

The current idea, he said, was that nuclear weapons would make war so destructive that it would never break out. But wars could begin by accident.

Some folk clung to the hope that because poison gas, used in the first war, was not used in the second, nuclear weapons might not be used in the next war. But gas was not rejected through any moral objection, but because it was an unreliable weapon and obliteration bombing was more effective.

His challenge to pacifists, Mr. Redhead said, was that they should be positive and active, rather than negative and isolated.

Many people, who might accept the pacifist attitude, were held off by what they regarded as a "holier-than-thou" attitude.

If they wanted to eradicate war they must be ready to recognise those who might become pacifists. They must not stand in splendid isolation, but must join with all those who were working to abolish the causes and conditions that made for war.



## Rochdale

THE Observer reports that Mr. McCann, the Labour victor at Rochdale, made the following declaration in the course of his campaign: "I am prepared personally to go further than the Parliamentary Labour Party. My conscience guides me; I am a Socialist. I believe the position is so critical that this country should be prepared to take the risk of unilateral disarmament as an example to the world."

The Observer regards a statement made by Mr. George Brown as an indirect rebuke to Mr. McCann. "None of us likes it," said Mr. Brown about the H-bomb, "but you don't get rid of this hideous weapon of war by a unilateral declaration against a particular weapon."

If the Observer is right and this was directed to Mr. McCann, it represents another example of Mr. Brown's characteristic muddle-headedness. Mr. McCann was not advocating a declaration but an action; and what he said was not directed to "one particular weapon," but to arms in general.

Mr. McCann has faced the fact that since men have now the capacity to manufacture nuclear weapons, any large scale war will be fought with such weapons. The abandonment of war means not merely the abandonment of one particular weapon but the renunciation of the lot.

As Mr. Kennedy, the Liberal candidate, was also against the British manufacture of the H-bomb, it can reasonably be claimed that Rochdale was a declaration against the common arms policy of both the Conservatives and Labour. We believe, however, that it means more than that. Men and women are less and less able to see how their votes are related to the policies that are followed.

The striking phenomenon about the Rochdale election was not Mr. McCann's victory but Mr. Kennedy's vote. There is much truth in Lord Hailsham's charge that Liberal candidates are able to formulate their own policies with little regard to what an actual Parliamentary Liberal Party would do.

A vote for a Liberal, however, is the nearest the elector can get today to a gesture against the trend, common to both the main Parties, to a centralisation of power which makes the individual man and woman more and more politically insignificant.

It is true that a revived Liberal Party would probably go the same way, but as things stand today a Liberal candidate offers the clearest possibility of a gesture of protest; for although we may hope that it will not be so, there is always a forlorn possibility that Mr. McCann will have to curb his independent advocacy of unilateral disarmament under the pressure of the standing orders and the Whips.

## Sakiet

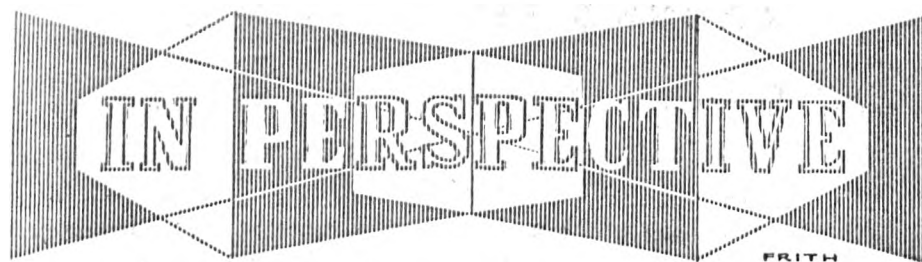
THE French bombing raid on Sakiet was not only a brutal act of aggression against Tunisia and a clear offence against the United Nations Charter. It was also an act of the grossest stupidity with wide implications.

The first French declaration that it had been directed solely against military objectives—even then it would have been a violation of the Charter—was quickly exposed as wholly untrue. Followed a good many days later by the highly disconcerting discovery that neither Foreign Affairs Minister Pineau nor Minister for Algeria Lacoste had had prior knowledge of it, France's system of "democratic" control was seen to be inadequate in practice.

While people in the outside world, already worried by the knowledge that the release of nuclear bombs will in the last resort depend on local commanders, see in this independent action by such a commander an additional reason for concern, the French Government is still trying to find a measure of justification for the raid by seeking to lay an all-covering sort of blame on Tunisia.

## Bourguiba

BUT everybody knows that President Bourguiba of Tunisia is of all Arab leaders, with the possible exception only of King Saud, the most pro-Western. No responsible statesman in the Western world wants to antagonise him, the less so because, if he were to be replaced by some-



body else in Tunisia, his successor would probably initiate policies less favourable to the West.

The French war in Algeria has long been a strain on Western unity. If the British American mediation between France and Tunisia fails to keep the issue out of the Security Council, belief in Western solidarity will become as difficult as the prevention of

world condemnation of France.

Tunisia's wish to see Bizerta becoming a NATO instead of a French base, likely to crop up in connection with the mediation discussions, is also likely to gain added support.

Beyond and above all this, the whole of the uncommitted world as well as every country with a remnant of grievance against

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## SUBVERSION

ONE of the present threats to peace is subversion—not only by Communist countries but also by the West. Another threat is seen in Western plans for suppressing subversion in non-Communist countries by military means.

Recently we commented on the report of an American committee headed by Dr. H. A. Kissinger on the need to deal with "non-overt aggressions". It said: "These 'concealed wars' may appear as internal revolutions."

Previously we had commented on the dangers of the doctrine, first outlined by President Eisenhower and the US State Department, that an important military function of the West and NATO is the suppression of subversion in pro-Western and even neutral States.

We pointed to the extension of this doctrine by the French Prime Minister, M. Gaillard, who favoured a declaration that the NATO powers would fight to maintain the status quo in the Middle East and, as the Eastern bloc would not seek changes in the status quo there by overt action, NATO must be prepared to act in cases of internal subversion.

M. Gaillard did not seem to require any prior evidence that subversion was the result of external interference by Russia.

For the very fact that subversion occurred would naturally assist the Communist bloc; therefore the West should declare its intention to suppress it, on the assumption that such a declaration would prevent it occurring.

The least harmful outcome of such a doctrine would be that the many undemocratic or tyrannous regimes of the Middle East, then bolstered by NATO, would be stabilised indefinitely.



THE worst—and ultimately more probable—outcome would be that because political subversion would be the only likely means of change under rigid regimes, any such occurrences would be declared "Communist" and military action would be taken by the West in fulfilment of its declaration.

This could set in motion the chain of military actions and counter-actions that would lead to nuclear war.

Challenged on this basis, M. Gaillard might declare that although he spoke of "internal" subversion, what he meant was subversion directed by external headquarters, which might launch "small scale border raids to open up gaps in the border defences" and use helicopters to maintain communication with its agents inside the country concerned.

The passage quoted above is taken, not from any Communist manual, but from a publication linked with NATO and published under the patronage of Generals Gruenther and Speidel and Field-Marshal Sir Gerald Templar.

The October issue of General Military Review contains an article setting out the advantages of the coup d'état as a method of carrying out the power struggle when, because of nuclear warfare, and the greater costliness and uncertainty of conventional warfare, "there will be a search for alternative methods of violence."



IN this article Captain Goodspeed, apparently a NATO staff member, discusses how the coup d'état should be operated in the States of Eastern Europe:

"Insurgent leaders should endeavour to ensure that public opinion is inflamed against the government prior to the coup. Carefully selected acts should be performed which will provoke official reaction, and this reaction should be presented to the public in the worst possible light . . . There is probably no better way of achieving this than by a judicious assassination or two.

"The general public, from the very inception of the coup," says this Captain Goodspeed, "should be kept informed, not necessarily of what is actually going on, but at least of what the rebels wish them to believe.

"The object of this is to influence the public in those courses of action desired by the insurgents, and it is not necessary therefore that the broadcasts correspond to the real situation."

This article contains even more horrifying examples of the dangerously psychopathic condition into which the military mind can fall.

When one reads Captain Goodspeed one can get a picture of the kind of minds that operated as part of the Stalin regime in Russia.

This article shows the essential baseness of the Dulles and Gaillard doctrine on subversion.

It is humiliating to find that the West is now admittedly depicting any kind of subversion—often completely home-produced—in non-Communist states as something to be charged against Russia and met with external military force.

At the same time, we find a serious discussion in a weighty NATO publication on how best to engineer the coup d'état in Eastern Europe as "the most aesthetically satisfying, as well as the most humane, of all military operations . . ."

the old imperialistic powers has been given once again a forcible kick in the direction of closer association with Moscow.

## The crime of thinking

WHEN Sir John Harding was Governor in Cyprus he was anxious to have an authoritative report on the various techniques that were employed to deal with EOKA activities, as a guide for similar operations to be undertaken elsewhere in the future. Brigadier G. H. Baker organised and directed the operations against the EOKA forces, and the Colonial Office has now sent him back to Cyprus for two months to prepare this report.

We can only regret that the Colonial Office is turning its mind in this direction. The lessons that Brigadier Baker is to bring back are presumably for possible future use against the inhabitants of British Guiana, the populations of Uganda and Nyasaland, for the information of the Kenya Government—wherever it has been decided to reject the claim of a people to govern themselves.

It would be much more in accordance with British claims for the character of its colonial policy if the kind of study that was taking place to-day were on the means to bring subject populations to a capacity for democratic self-government as soon as possible.

Wherever subject peoples however have learned the lesson that the one impregnable defence of human rights is their non-violent assertion, the techniques of people like Sir John Harding and Brigadier Baker will have become irrelevant.

## Nearer the Summit

THE earlier reluctance to accept Soviet proposals for summit talks is giving way under the pressure of public opinion. Not only has the Prime Minister agreed conditionally to take part but Mr. Dulles has said that he does not regard a preparatory meeting of Foreign Ministers as an essential preliminary.

Though there is every prospect of the talks taking place sometime, somewhere, they are not likely to achieve anything worth while if they conform to the familiar pattern of proposal and counter-proposal within a closed orbit. It should not be forgotten that the success of the one Geneva conference which has produced any positive results was the presence there of a representative of one of the uncommitted nations. Krishna Menon was able to act as an intermediary clarifying the different proposals made, explaining one side to the other and helping them to reach a compromise.

If summit talks are to represent real negotiations instead of another political wrangle in the attempt of each side to force the other to accept plans which are to the advantage of the proposer, arbitration or mediation is essential.

What is wanted is not so much time to prepare an agenda as the acceptance of a new pattern of talks.

The conference should not be confined to the heads of government of the three or four major contestants but express a world concern for peace through the presence of representatives of the uncommitted nations.

Indeed it would be well if a neutral chairman could preside.

What a world of difference it would make if the British Government would adopt forthwith a policy of total disarmament so that the Prime Minister could go to the summit talks uncommitted and able to mediate between the United States and the Soviet Union.

If that is not possible, and in order to meet the suggestion that another failure would be worse than no meeting, two steps should be taken. An arbitrator should be appointed as chairman and the summit talks should not be regarded as exceptional but as part of the process of maintaining normal diplomatic relations. If the heads of governments arranged to meet regularly as a negotiating committee many of the difficulties attached to an extraordinary meeting could be avoided and there will be a better chance of a "happy issue out of all our afflictions."

## Nuclear tests

LOCAL disengagements, long-term disarmament, and re-adjustments of balance of power, are either vague, imprecise, or involve complex bargaining, and are beside the immediate point—stopping nuclear tests.

It is naive to imagine that we can resolve the broad general differences between the power blocs. But continued testing of nuclear weapons cannot and must not be accepted.

To stop these must be our first task, an immediate duty for each nation acting on its own.

We speak as human beings to all others as human beings and demand an end to the testing of these inhuman and uncivilized weapons: not "agreement" but an end.

We cannot be satisfied with less—**GERALD PETCH, SPIKE MILLIGAN, ALAN LITHERLAND, PIERRE WAT-TER, BASIL ANTONIS, R. D. McARTHUR, GWEN DAIN, D. H. BARASI, M. TREVOR, E. F. SPEAKMAN, 22 Lancaster Road, Highgate, London, N.6.**

## Nuclear weapons and pacifism

**OLWEN BATTERSBY (PN, Jan. 31)** suggests that renunciation of atomic weapons may make war more likely and immediate.

Surely, Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall is right in his belief that the nuclear weapon will become the conventional weapon very soon. Clearly, he has been driven to his present renunciation of all warfare because of the evil threat of the nuclear weapon and its testing. And that is the only way in which hundreds of thousands of men and women will arrive at the same conclusion that the way of violence, of balance of power politics, is morally, economically and militarily outdated.

It is, moreover, the only way in which most will be forced to admit that the conscientious objector to all war has been proved morally and logically right.

But most public meetings with completely pacifist platforms can draw only meagre audiences to which to deliver the challenge to all war. My friend and I have found the best platform for this purpose on our city's pavements, in the course of canvassing for signatures (total to date over 14,000) to our continuous petitioning of the Archbishop of Canterbury against nuclear weapon tests.

Many admit that the nuclear weapon's evil has moved them for the first time to consider the logic of the pacifist position.

In reply we tell them that we were conscientious objectors in the last war, and the invitation to further, sympathetic discussion on the immorality, futility and barbarity of all war and preparation for war comes from these strangers—the result of our not disdaining to treat with them on the first step in the right direction.

Let all members of the Peace Pledge Union admit honestly that we have failed to rouse public opinion against all warfare fought with "conventional" weapons, and that the Conscription Act's retention is sad proof of our failure. Our only hope lies in encouraging the articulation of a public opinion already strongly roused in favour of renouncing nuclear war—modern war.—**ALLEN HALLSWORTH, 9 Alan Road, Withington, Manchester, 20.**

## Disarmament

FOR peace, one country must break the vicious circle of war by having the moral and spiritual courage to disarm, even if this means "going it alone." Such a country would save not only its own people, but the world. Why should this country not be Britain?—**MABEL BLACKWOOD, 40 Collingwood Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.10.**

## Opportunity for the Churches

AS one of the major causes of world tension is the poverty in under-developed countries, it was with considerable regret that we read (Manchester Guardian, Dec. 17) that the plan to set up a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) is to remain in abeyance for lack of financial assistance.

This plan was designed to extend the economic help given to under-developed countries by the UN by providing capital for improvements to basic services such as

## Letters to the Editor

education, administration and public health. To quote the Manchester Guardian: "The poverty of these services is the major obstacle to development in most of the poorer countries." The amount of money needed to set this scheme in motion is \$250,000,000 (£89,000,000), a modest sum compared with the amount spent on defence each year in this country alone. Yet the governments in the UN will not supply it.

Surely here is an opportunity for all Christian Churches in Britain, or better still, in the world, to express in unmistakable terms, the love for our neighbours which we profess, particularly as these neighbours are only half an hour away by Sputnik!

£89,000,000 may seem a large sum for a non-governmental body to raise, and indeed it would be for one Church or one denomination, but if all churches were to unite on this issue and campaign vigorously in their neighbourhoods, this modern miracle could be achieved.

We feel that such a move by the Church on this scale would reveal to the non-Christian world that the Church is aware of the problems of our time and can unite and solve these. At the same time it would show that Christianity can succeed where governments fail, because it is not bound by politics or worldly power, but by Love.

Could not the British Council of Churches or even the World Council of Churches be persuaded to act in this matter?—**A. T. EMPTAGE, D. DENNIS, 2 Quarry Rd., Wandsworth, London, S.W.18.**

## Increase of freaks?

ARE human babies beginning to show signs of an increased freak level as are lupin flowers; both have the same number of chromosomes in their reproductive cells?

Are the following statements true:

(1) The drosophila fruit fly of 8 chromosomes was the "guinea pig" used to establish the so-called "safety level" of radiation.

(2) Dr. W. Russell, of Oak Ridge (USA) recently discovered that the 40-chromosome mouse produces ten times as many mutations as this 8-chromosome fly, for the same dose of radiation.

(3) Freak-levels among some cultivated flowers in 1957 were abnormal; thus, whilst

the common annual candytuft (14 chromosomes) and delphiniums (32 chromosomes) had the expected number of freaks, lupins (48 chromosomes, same number as in man) showed an increase, though not yet alarmingly. The giant hyacinth flowered candytuft (50 chromosomes) had a 5,000 per cent increase of freaks.

(4) Man has 48 chromosomes like the lupin. Is a 48 chromosome animal now needed to determine safety levels? Will scientists please give us some answers?—**J. ARTHUR DARLINGTON, Ty Llwyd, Llanon, Cards.**

## New centre in England

THE Society of Brothers, an international group who seek to witness by their lives to the way of Christian brotherhood and peace, hopes in the coming weeks to establish a second centre in England at Bulstrode Park, Gerrards Cross, Bucks, a mansion which they are now in the process of purchasing. It is hoped that the proximity and easy access of Bulstrode Park to London and other busy centres will enable many more interested people to visit and to share in their practical working life. All who would care to have further particulars are warmly invited to write to the address below.

The Society wishes to make it known that in view of this development of their work they are in urgent need of furniture of all kinds—dining-room furniture, beds, tables, chairs, curtains, kitchen and laundry equipment, educational equipment for all ages, etc., and any gifts or sources of moderately priced help in this direction will be very greatly appreciated. Please write to the Steward.—**For the Society of Brothers, PETER RUTHERFORD, Wheat-hill Bruderhof Community, Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.**

## Working for peace

THE efforts for peace made by your correspondent (PN, Feb. 7) who signs himself "Active" are admirable. May I suggest another effort, the only one likely to halt the Labour Party in its pursuit of "continuity of policy"?

The decision to maintain nuclear weapons was obtained at the Labour Party Confer-

ence at Brighton by platform trickery aided by the undemocratic and immoral block vote wielded by the bosses of the trade unions. Such a decision carries no moral sanction.

At that Conference, 750,000 votes, almost the whole of the constituency vote, were cast against the bombs. I suggest that the representatives of the 750,000 members should make it known that they refuse to violate their conscience by voting for, or supporting any candidate who approves the maintenance of nuclear weapons. I have no doubt that such a declaration would receive the support of the majority of the party.

I would add that letters containing this suggestion, addressed to the New Statesman and the Tribune, went into their waste-paper baskets. Unity must be preserved though the heavens fall!—**F. O'HANLON, St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing.**

## Path of non-violence

THE only path for Britain and the whole world in this post-sputnik age is the path of non-violence. Britain's (and the world's) only security lies in the total abolition of armaments.

The way to disarm is to disarm, not by slow, gradual stages, but fully, completely, totally, now and at once. Partial disarmament is an utter moral absurdity, an impractical proposition, as the last ten years' history proves.

Inspection and control will be moral suicide for the race. Distrust can never beget trust, as immorality can never beget morality.

Our British sisters and brothers must now transfer their allegiance altogether from force and violence, and armaments to morality, righteousness and God. Let them rise and say, "The Lord is my shield and my defence is sure."—**ALOKANANDA MAHABHARATI, President, Arunachal Mission, Lila Mandir Asram, P.O. Raidyanath-Deoghar, S.P. Behar, India.**

## Violence against Koinonia

MAY I correct an error in my report in Feb. 7 Peace News. American police are always prompt in arresting users of out-of-date number tags. They are more lax (except in Browne's case) in arresting users of out-of-state tags.—**RICHARD BAKER, Moorefield, West Virginia, USA.**

## THE ISSUES IN ALGERIA

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

ALGERIA has become the symbol of most of the issues which now convulse the world. More than colonial freedom is involved.

Algeria raises the issue of African and other territories where there are considerable European communities.

It raises the issue of East versus West, and of the use to which NATO and other western military alliances are put.

It raises the issue of the new pattern of the world created by Arab unity, already seen in the merging of Syria and Egypt and now demonstrated in the solidarity of Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria.

It raises the issue of the right to exploit the natural resources of the earth; the discovery of rich oil supplies in Algerian Sahara is a major reason why France clings to Algeria.

## The West involved

Algeria will prove decisive to the West in its relationship not only to the Arab countries of North Africa but to the whole of the Middle East. Tunisia and Morocco, despite the French war on their Algerian brothers, have remained pro-Western. They are now being driven towards neutralist Egypt, where Soviet association is strong. This is why America, and to some extent Britain, are seeking to conciliate Tunisia. In the long run, unless France recognises Algerian independence, neither Bourguiba nor the Sultan of Morocco will be able to withstand the pressure of their peoples for Arab solidarity with Egypt. The Algerian FLN, the Arab fighting organisation, has already transferred its headquarters to Cairo.

The West is seriously involved in the Algerian war because the French forces

allocated to NATO and their American-aided equipment have been seconded to Algeria. The bombing planes which attacked Sakiet were of American origin. The implications of this go far. Would a nation attached to SEATO or to the Bagdad Pact be allowed to use Western equipment if it became involved in a private war? Would, for example, Pakistan, a Bagdad Pact Power, be permitted to use American arms in Kashmir if a conflict occurred there? This is of great importance to India.

## New wealth

The discovery of oil in the Sahara underlies France's determination to remain in Algeria. Behind colonialism there are constantly such financial and economic factors. The copper-belt in Northern Rhodesia and the uranium in Belgian Congo are big elements in the retention of White domination.

The time has come for the United Nations to face this issue. The first step is to insist that the ownership of natural resources should be in the hands of the people of the territory; that concessions to external exploiters of minerals should be on a short-term basis, permitting a proper return for their enterprise but not permanent occupation; for from the beginning the new wealth should be used for the well-being of the population.

The second step should be to establish the internationalisation of the earth's wealth—oil, uranium, and other minerals—for the benefit of all peoples. That may seem far off, but it is not too early to be expanding the economic and technical agencies of the United Nations in preparation for it.

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# NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

IN 1800 Castlereagh commenced to buy the Irish Parliament. It cost about £2,000,000 and a large number of peerages.

The Irish members were willing sellers and the operation was soon completed. Great Britain and Ireland were united as one nation!

I have little sympathy with Irish complaints. Castlereagh believed in the union and there was sound economic reason for a union. The villains of the piece were the Irish Members who sold their country for a mess of peerage.

UNION was effected, but you cannot keep a nation in bondage. The union lasted over a century and there was scarcely a year free from trouble and controversy. The nineteenth century saw the Emmet rebellion, the revolt of young Ireland, the terrible famine years, the political battles of O'Connell and Parnell.

At the end of the century Ireland was much poorer and had a much smaller population than at its beginning. In the end Britain conceded self-government after the revolt of 1916 and the miserable history of the Black and Tans.

THE Irish people could have won much earlier. In 1797 under the wretched Camden administration a spontaneous movement of non-violent resistance came into being. Designed at first, primarily, to evade the ban on public meetings, it concerned itself with giving assistance to Camden's victims.

One man in prison had left a house built only to the roof. An army of slaters arrived and roofed it within the day. Others had left fields needing planting or harvesting. A thousand or so workers, organised, carrying their own tools, performed the task in an hour or two.

THE united Irish leaders were planning the revolt which broke out in 1798 and which, had it succeeded, would probably have left Ireland under the rule of Napoleon instead of George the Third.

They commanded enormous support for armed revolt, but could have counted on still more for non-violent resistance. The pay of the labourer was fivepence a day. The cottier lived on potatoes and skimmed milk from January to December.

An organised campaign to refuse payment of rent and tithe, to withhold labour, to care for the families of victims of persecution and bear their burdens whilst they were imprisoned must inevitably have succeeded. Instead, the Irish leaders resorted to force and were soon decisively defeated.

IT is necessary at this point to deal with an argument invariably advanced.

"Ah," says Col. Wisacre, "but how long would such a resistance last in face of armed oppression? Ringleaders would be taken out and shot and families turned out of their homes and houses burned down. How long would they stand up to that?"

The answer is that this is precisely what happened. A brutal repressive campaign devastated whole villages; tenders round the coast were packed with Shanghai'd prisoners, and almost all the rebel leaders were imprisoned. Every act of repression swelled the ranks of armed rebels.

THIS issue must be faced quite frankly, "it is much easier to argue with a man armed with a pike than a man armed with a machine-gun." The history of Germany and of Spain in the 1930's shows that an organised civilian population can be dominated by armed force.

Organisation is the first essential. And such organisation must be based upon a common purpose and identity of interest.

THE American Civil War is romantically remembered as a war for the liberation of slaves, but it was much

By Leslie Hale, MP

This is the last of a series of articles by the Labour MP for Oldham West.

more a struggle between the growing economic domination of the North and the old prosperity of the agricultural South.

The South could have won, and nearly did, for they could have withheld supplies to the North for an indefinite period and lived on their produce. The trouble was that the war in the South was being fought for the wealthy planters who had everything to lose by such a policy.

WHEN Fenner Brockway and I visited Kenya in 1952 a state of emergency had been declared and several murders had occurred, but the general outbreak of hostilities was yet to come. Hardly anyone doubted that a very grave situation was imminent, though few fully anticipated how great the slaughter would be.

Fenner, whose name was revered by the Africans, asked the Governor's leave to broadcast an appeal to them not to resort to violence. Every African agreed such an appeal would have a profound effect. Fenner even offered to submit his text to the Governor for approval. The Governor refused.

On the day I returned, suffering from dysentery, the Commons were discussing a Bill which provided additional borrowing powers for the whole of our Colonies of a sum far less than we later contributed to the cost of civil war in Kenya.

I referred to the major grievances, deprivation of land, exploitation of agriculture, discriminatory wages against Africans in the Government service, miserably inadequate wages (nine shilling a week in industry and four shillings a week in agriculture) and the excessively high price of the staple food posho.

I urged that help be given at once to avoid a major disaster. I was called a Communist and bitterly criticised from the Government benches.

Two years later, after tens of thousands of lives had been lost and over £100,000,000 been spent on repression, a colleague of mine made the same speech. He was commended for his statesmanlike utterance.

THE weakness of the European position in Africa is that the Africans always have the Europeans in their power once they have established an identity of interest and of policy.

The strength of the Europeans' position is that the Africans are producing too many power seeking politicians quarrelling among themselves, but if the Africans do become united in a determination to acquire political responsibility and economic expansion they can win it by non-violent resistance.

HOW could such a method succeed in a complex industrial civilisation? Supposing an invading force establishes its own Government, imprisons or hangs the political leaders of the people and establishes rule by force, how can non-violent resistance hope to succeed?

Will not the use of the rope and the lash inevitably break down such a policy?

No one can be dogmatic about this, but I would suggest two points for consideration.

The first is that from 1914 to 1918 we lost 1,000,000 dead—the flower of our youth. In March of 1918 alone over 100,000 were slaughtered.

If the choice is between taking this chance and the possibility of the hanging of 500 politicians, I prefer the hanging of the politicians. I am not completely convinced that the country would be much worse off by this measure, although I have no passion for lamp-posts.

I DO not know what happened in Hungary. I do know that the Americans had for long been trying to stir up a revolt. There was of course ample material for revolt amongst a crushed bourgeoisie and a persecuted Catholic population.

To what extent it was supported by the

organised workers, who were economically better off under Communist rule, is not clear. It is clear that a wide-spread revolt, with a large measure of support of the people, courageously led, came within an ace of success, and that it was finally, ruthlessly and brutally crushed by Soviet guns.

NOW Hungary was a precise example of a country which had already suffered under the excesses of dictatorship. It had suffered them for a quarter of a century following the betrayal of the Hungarian people by Britain and France in 1919.

Political and religious leaders were imprisoned. A rigid police control was established for which there was ample arms support.

If the Hungarian people had been substantially united in a planned and organised policy of non-violent resistance they would almost certainly have won. It needs planning.

The careful hoarding in each home of a reserve food supply over a long period then an organised cessation of production is a weapon hard to parry. If no coal is being mined, if no trains are being run, if no goods are being produced, if no organs of propaganda are being published it is very difficult to see how a foreign dictatorship can maintain control.

SUCH a policy elaborately prepared in advance appears to provide

## The impact of the newspaper ads.

Full-page advertisements calling upon Americans to join in a campaign to stop nuclear weapon tests and pledge themselves "to the cause of peace" have been appearing in US newspapers since November, 1957.

Sponsoring the advertisements is the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Two coupons appear at the foot of the appeal which bears the signatures of 48 leading US personalities, including Mrs. Roosevelt, Eric Fromm, Lewis Mumford, Norman Cousins, etc.

Readers are urged to clip and mail the first coupon to President Eisenhower asking him to go before the United Nations and propose that "all nuclear test explosions be stopped immediately" and that "missiles and outer space satellites be brought under United Nations-monitored control."

The second coupon invites contributions to the work of the Committee and offers to put readers in touch with local groups and provide further information about the Committee's programme.

The following report of the impact of the newspaper advertisements is abridged from a statement issued by the Committee:

The response to the first Statement of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in a full page advertisement in The New York Times on Friday, November 15, 1957, was immediate and significant. The rather large cost—\$4,700—was recovered in the first few days after publication.

The results can be summarised as follows:

(a) The appeal has been widely heard. It signalled a new and meaningful campaign to people throughout the country.

(b) From all over the US, by mail, telephone and telegram, more than 25,000 reprints have been requested, often in large quantities.

(c) The response has not been limited to New York and adjacent areas. It stirred individuals and groups to action in many parts of the country and brought, in addition to contributions, hundreds of letters of support and encouragement, and offers of co-operation. It led to the formation of local groups which placed the advertisement in their newspapers bearing the cost in full or in part. Equally significant were the editorials which quoted the essential parts of the Statement or reproduced it entirely, e.g., the Denver Post on Nov. 21, the Asheville Times, in Asheville, N.C., on Dec. 1, and the Houston Post on Jan. 4, 1958. In turn, these editorials provoked public reactions and "letters to the editor."

### POSITIVE RESPONSE

Within a week the advertisement was placed in three more national dailies, the Washington Post and Times Herald, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Sun-Times, but these produced poor results.

On the other hand, the advertisement inserted in the San Francisco Chronicle and

## New Archbishop in South Africa acts against apartheid

THE Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, has announced that he will withhold episcopal ministrations from any congregation in his diocese of South Africa which persists in apartheid.

"Far better that our Church should be small numerically but true to its Lord than that it should be strong numerically but in its strength dependent on the nominal faith of many who have no serious intention of ever putting their faith into practice."

"At this moment in our history quality is infinitely more significant than quantity."

The pro-apartheid Nationalist newspaper Die Burger editorially stated that Mr. de Blank "had come to South Africa to fight apartheid with deeds, not words."

vide the only effective answer to modern armaments.

It is said that we should run the risk of forfeiting our freedom, our democracy, our traditions, and our British way of life.

How much of these is likely to survive the present Government estimates of 1,000,000 casualties the first day, of 15,000,000 women and children evacuated heaven knows where, and a battle of attrition with weapons that can destroy all mankind?

the Detroit News produced a quick and positive response.

Groups frequently sponsored the publication of the Statement in local newspapers of their district, covering the cost either alone or with the help of the National Committee. In a few cases the editor or publisher carried the advertisement as a public service. Thanks to this initiative, the Statement appeared in three newspapers in Connecticut and in local papers in New York State, California, Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas and Pennsylvania.

### IN CALIFORNIA

The value of these advertisements should not be measured only in terms of the number of responses and the amount of contributions, which in most cases were rather limited, but also in terms of community action, public discussion on the local level, letters to, and meetings with, Congressmen. However, considered even in these terms, the response was disappointing except in the area around Pomona, California.

The response to the advertisement in the Progress-Bulletin in Pomona is still growing and clearly reflects the impact of the appeal.

Somewhere Different — Something Special  
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# NAZI CAMP TREATMENT

NEW READERS BEGIN HERE: Out of some 12,000 teachers in Nazi-occupied Norway in 1942, between 8,000 and 10,000 wrote to Quisling's Education Department refusing to join the new organisation for teachers. Mass arrests of about 1,000 followed, of which 670 were sent to Grini concentration camp.

ON March 31 the teachers were taken from Grini concentration camp to Jørstadmoen camp, near Lillehammer, about 200 kilometres from Oslo.

At some places along the railway line people learned that the teachers' train was coming through and school children gathered at the stations and sang.

The teachers were locked in cattle cars.

The poorly equipped camp at Jørstadmoen was adapted as a concentration camp for the teachers. No other political prisoners had previously been kept there.

When they arrived there were some beds but no mattresses or bedding; cooking vessels had to be salvaged from a junk heap; tools for shovelling snow had to be improvised by the prisoners.

## The Gestapo

Mr. Holmboe was part of a small group that reached Jørstadmoen on March 30 directly from local prisons. A second group arrived next evening.

On April 1 the great bulk of prisoners arrived from Grini, making a total of 687. That day and the next the Germans organised the camp. Teachers were divided

## The story of the Norwegian teachers' successful non-violent resistance under Nazi occupation

into age groups and assigned to barracks. German-speaking teachers were selected as group leaders. The Germans chose Mr. Holmboe as their interpreter.

During these days he became recognised by the teachers as their spokesman and leader.

The Gestapo created an atmosphere of fear. Orders were crossly shouted. Teachers were kicked on the slightest pretext and were forced to run rapidly wherever they went.

This intimidation was aimed at producing nervousness and insecurity among the teachers.

## What day is this?

On the third morning there seemed not to be a single German in the camp. No one knew what was going to happen. Uncertainty and tenseness spread.

For prisoners whose fate lies in the hands of others this is the difficult time. "The hardest things," said Mr. Holmboe, "are not those that happen, but those that might happen, and the time waiting for things to happen."

What were "they" going to do to the

teachers? Would it be better to give in? Was it all worth what might happen?

The tenseness grew.

Then one of the teachers said: "Do you remember what day this is?" And someone said: "Is this a good day for us to resign from small sufferings? Remember what Christ endured."

It was Good Friday.

That afternoon the "terrorism" began. It was not the extreme individual torture for which the Nazi regime was notorious—including in Norway—but a more gradual and prolonged "treatment" designed to wear down the teachers' ability to resist.

## The hunger weapon

Hunger and weariness were the chief weapons. In the morning they received a cup of synthetic coffee. At noon a cup of hot water soup—for the German staff had "organised" (the camp slang for stealing) most of the few vegetables allotted for prisoners.

Each was given 150 grams of bread a day—one-fifth of a small loaf of about 1½ lbs. This made four small slices.

They received it at night, and had no more until the following night. Therefore if they were to have anything to eat next morning they had to exercise extreme restraint and eat only two thin slices at night despite their hunger.

Each morning there were 1½ hours "torture gymnastics," including crawling and running in very deep snow. Men up to 59 years old were treated "more or less as young people."

Then followed 1½ hours heavy work—"idiotic work" the teachers called it—much of which was shovelling heavy snow. This was followed by another one and a-half hours crawling and running in the snow.

People who have never run in snow reaching well above the knees cannot know how much effort it requires.

After 4½ hours "treatment" there was an hour's break and lunch—one cup of hot water soup.

On that first Saturday afternoon while the rest of the teachers were being put through the afternoon session, the 76 older teachers—aged 55 to 59—were interrogated.

Before the questioning the younger teachers made it clear that if the older ones wished to back down because of their age it would be understood and not held against them.

Mr. Holmboe said that as the older men were brought in one by one the Germans were really surprised as each refused to withdraw his protest.

The meaning was clear: if the older men had not yet broken down there was little chance that the younger men would.

And so the treatment was resumed. No one knew how long it would last.

While the older men were being questioned that afternoon the usual afternoon treatment continued for the others: two or three hours repeat of the morning session.

## A new teachers' protest

Meanwhile, in the outside world, the Quisling authorities prepared to re-open the schools.

They announced that all who began working would automatically be registered as having joined the new organisation and their subscriptions would be deducted from their pay. The opening in Oslo and Aker was delayed, but the rest opened on April 8.

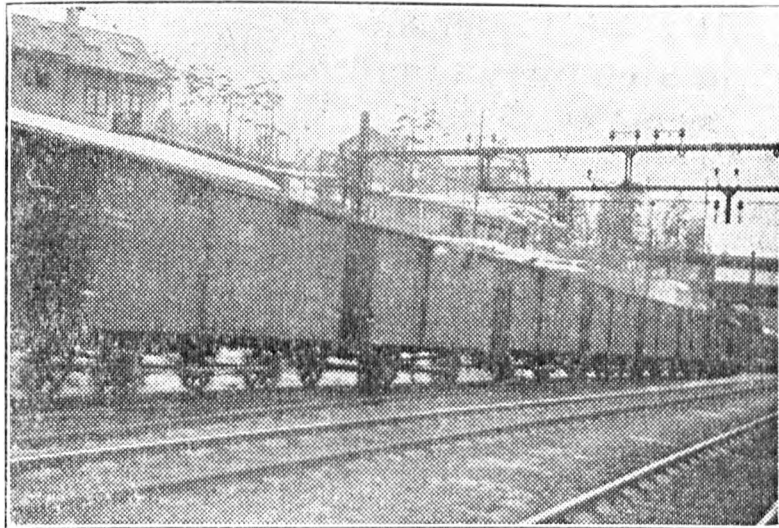
But on reporting for work the teachers repudiated membership of Quisling's new teachers' organisation, and made a statement in their classes on the first day.

Mrs. Holmboe herself was one of these teachers. She said their was tenseness, then each teacher, before the class, "spoke of conscience, the spirit of truth, and our responsibility to the children."

But, she said, she was not worried about her own possible arrest. The feeling of solidarity was so strong that she knew someone would take care of her two children.

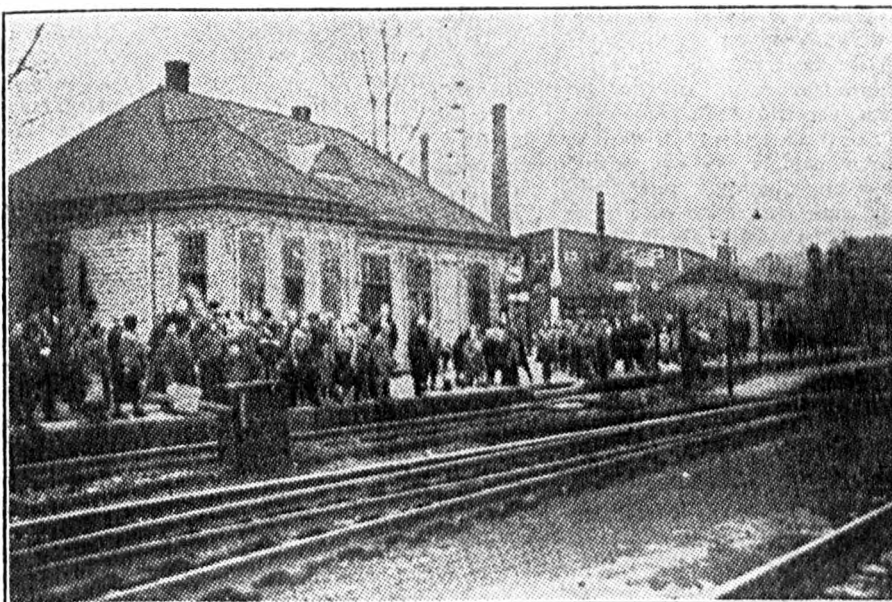
Meanwhile, the treatment of the prisoners continued.

Two cases of pneumonia developed. The prisoners were not clothed for snowy weather and there were no facilities for drying clothes.



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Forty-five teachers were crowded into each of the cattle trucks in which they were transported from Grini concentration camp to Jørstadmoen. The picture (above) was taken from the platform (below) of Bryn station in Aker. When it was learned that the train was coming children gathered at stations along the route to sing. The clock at Bryn station, below, shows 3.50 p.m. The teachers' train, for which the children are waiting, arrived at 4 p.m.



Cappelen Publishers

One of the teachers collapsed during a session of the "treatment" and was carried to the medical centre. It was rumoured that he was dead.

A German officer came storming in, demanding of the teacher lying on the floor: "What is this? Why are you behaving in this way?" The teacher, regaining consciousness, replied that there was "too little food, too much to do."

But if only you give in, everything will be all right. Why do you persist?

"Because I am a Norwegian."

The "terrorism" had continued, Sunday and Monday and Tuesday. After 11 a.m. Tuesday various groups were taken from their work for questioning: "Will you sign . . . ?"

The old men were marched in, refused to retract their protests, and were marched out again. Then the men began saying "No" as they entered the room, giving the Germans no chance even to question them.

"They were like martyrs going to their persecution," Mr. Holmboe said.

At least one of the most determined of the teachers was a pacifist; pacifists and non-pacifists stood solidly together.

Only 32 out of the 687 gave in and were brought out of the camp. With this the Germans' theory that the teachers' determined resistance was caused by one section intimidating the rest collapsed.

The terrorism resumed: torture-gymnastics, hard work, almost no food.

Next week: Into the Arctic.



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Teachers crawling with their hands behind their backs in the snow as part of the "torture-gymnastics" ordered by the Gestapo at Jørstadmoen. This drawing is by David Anderson, one of the teachers.

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## At work for peace in a country town

By DIANA HASTAIN

I AM fortunate in living in a county of mountains and rich river-fed plains, where the red earth and lush grass contrast vividly with the blue, sharply-defined mountains of the Borderland of Wales; where every church and castle ruin is a powerful reminder of civilisations that have preceded us.

Naturally, industry is viewed with some suspicion, and everyone's interest centres round hops and pedigree cattle, with little thought for political matters outside the homestead.

When I came here three years ago, I was not surprised, therefore, to learn that the peace group had become defunct after the last meeting some five years previously, when the large hall hired for Claud Coltman held eight people, only two of whom were visitors. This was after an enormous amount of work had been done in delivering handbills to as many houses as possible.

When I read about the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Observer, and wrote to them, I received the names of four people in my area who had written similarly. I wrote to all of these, and two of them said that they would help in any way possible, and one, now our Chairman, said that I might put his name with mine on a circular inviting people concerned about the nuclear arms race to write to us.

Having only lived here for two years, during which time I had been pre-occupied with my personal affairs, I knew very few people, and stretching my local knowledge to the limit, I was able to send out 50 circulars, including to all the local clergy, the Bishop and the Dean.

We had seven replies, so we called a meeting to discuss what we could do. Twenty-eight people turned up, and we were able to send nearly £7 to the National Council, and were immensely encouraged.

★ That meeting took place in July, 1957, just when my husband and I were rushing off for our holiday, so subsequently activities were somewhat delayed. However, we had two meetings before Christmas, at one of which Mrs. Peggy Duff from the National Council spoke, and we formed a Committee.

We began to get notice in the Press, but although my letters to the Press have been published, it seems that apathy is too great to provoke a response, in spite of the many retired military men around here.

However, a few weeks ago, the YMCA kindly allowed us to use their hall (the same one that was used for Claud Coltman's meeting) to show the film "Shadow of Hiroshima." We sent out two postcards giving details of the meeting, to the 35 people on our books, asking them to send them to their friends. By this time, we had the support of one of the local Methodist ministers and he promised to open the meeting for us. Still no response from the Church of England, although the Dean kindly announced our last two meetings in the Cathedral.

When we arrived, the empty hall looked so enormous after the little room we had previously used, that I began to wonder if we had been too ambitious. Our confidence was soon restored, however, as the hall became nearly full, with about a hundred and fifty people present, including the Young People's Social Hour groups from the Free Churches, and three of their ministers; and several members of a Teachers' Training College. Harold Steele, from Malvern, was a much appreciated visitor, and we hope that he will come again and tell us of his experiences. A great many people signed a petition to our MP and Mr. Gaitskell, and we are still collecting names. We have been invited to speak to the Toc H group, and we are trying to interest other such groups.

In spite of an apparently disinterested electorate and biased Press, we have managed to make ourselves felt through very small beginnings, and I hope that our experiences will be an encouragement to those still wondering what to do (as I did for so long).

The head of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory at the Californian Institute of Technology. Dr. W. H. PICKERING gave this warning recently in a New York Herald Tribune Article from which the following is an extract.

## Machine's mistake could doom world

SHORTLY after the end of World War II a popular quip heard around the Pentagon was: the era of push-button warfare has arrived—we have the push button. To-day, however, we are in fact on the verge of an era of military technology which is fantastically beyond the concepts of a decade ago. We can now equate one push button to one city located anywhere on this planet. For if that push button launches an inter-continental ballistic missile, it is all that is needed to destroy the city target.

The ICBM with a hydrogen warhead takes less than half an hour to reach its target. This means that within a few years every city on the globe will be living with a threat of sudden death—its life dependent on one man's action. And that man is not the ruler of an enemy country, but one soldier on guard in an isolated ICBM launching site.

The least we can hope is that he is not one of those young hotheads who frequently exchange rifle shots across a frontier. But no matter who he is, his decision is the death sentence of the target city.

With this situation rapidly becoming an accepted fact, military strategists have concluded that the only answer is the threat of immediate and total retaliation.

### Decision to destroy rests on machine

Now to attain the capability of instant retaliation the military planner finds himself calling for long-range radar devices, elaborate computers to determine if the radar signal is due to an enemy missile, a friendly airplane or a meteor from outer space, and a complex communication network for alerting the targets and for commanding the retaliatory missiles to be launched.

This is the prospect we face—the decision to destroy an enemy nation—and by in-

ference our own, will be made by a radar set, a telephone circuit, an electronic computer. It will be arrived at without the aid of human intelligence. If a human observer cries: "Stop, let me check the calculation," he is already too late, his launching site is destroyed and the war is lost.

It is a frightening prospect. Far more than being slaves to our machines, our very life depends on the accuracy and reliability of a computing machine in a far distant country. The failure of a handful of vacuum tubes and transistors could determine the fate of our civilisation.

### 'Human' considerations will mean nothing

WE have been prone to take comfort in the thought that no nation, no matter what its government, would embark on a war of mutual destruction. Perhaps this is true, but in a few years it will not be the government which makes the choice. The government will be committed to relying on the reliability of some electronic equipment and the skill of a few technicians.

Under these circumstances, if a period of international tension lasts for any length of time, failure of the equipment is almost inevitable and mutual destruction cannot be avoided.

This evolution from the push button era to the automatic push button era is inevitable. And when that day comes all of the "human" considerations which might stay the hand of a warmonger will mean nothing.

Is there an answer? With the present political climate it is difficult to imagine what it could be. But if the answer is not found in a very few years, there will be no need for the answer because all that is left of humanity will be starting again the long climb from the stone age.

Dr. ALLEN HUNTER of Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, California, contributes the first of a series of monthly articles in which world affairs are commented upon by those who "write as a Christian."

## POLITICAL IRRESPONSIBLES

I HAVE just come from a hospital where a patient, awaiting a tough operation, told me how in a certain artillery observation-post near Ypres during the first world war, he would hold out to a trench rat a piece of cheese.

The rat would regularly take the food offered, but he paid his way. Whenever gas began to make its way into their hide-out, the little creature's whiskers would suddenly go up.

Then he would disappear into a hole far removed from the deadly fumes.

Thus warned, my friend would put on his gas mask.

Last Sunday afternoon (February 9) down at the harbour I said goodbye to four men on "The Golden Rule." On this thirty-foot sailing vessel with a small auxiliary motor and two radio sets, they aim to enter the danger area in the Pacific where the military plans in April to try out some more nuclear bombs. Unlike the rat, they are going where the risk most definitely is—not away from it.

### Why?

Because of exhibitionism mixed with a preoccupation with martyrdom? Or is the motive what Dr. R. S. Lee seems to suggest in his book "Freud and Christianity"? According to this psychologist, unless I misread him, the trouble with these four pro-

testers against further test explosions is simple. They don't like being under authority, suffering as they are from a repressed desire to kill their fathers. Now a tendency like that is horrible. And these are civilised human beings. So, rather than face the hidden lust for murder they unwittingly have shoved it deep into their subconscious minds. It refuses, however, to be snubbed. At last the wicked urge expresses itself in the conscious mind as something noble: a passion to save mankind. If only these four men could be psycho-analysed! It would take no more than two or three years.

### Method

But they haven't the time or the necessary frame of mind. Later on, perhaps, they will consider the hesitations of that theologian who argues that he needs more facts and leisure before he can make up his mind about the bombs. These four, it seems, have little interest in justifying the ways of Mars to man. They are under a less complicated pressure.

What, then, is it? I don't exactly know. Nor do they. For no man can precisely and completely understand his motivation which often is as homogenised as the milk he pours into his coffee.

The sources of their inner Must need not concern us. What does is their method. At first glance it resembles suicide. Unless

### It fell under the table

A schoolmaster in Hamburg, Germany, recently set his pupils an essay on the theme "It fell under the table." A boy of 14 wrote:

MY name is Conny XY 134. According to Earth time we are now in the year 3975. I come from Venus. After an interminable struggle with the inhabitants of Mars, who also wanted to bring Earth under their rule, we finally succeeded with the help of the people of Neptune in landing our troops on the Sun, which has been cold for a long time, and from there we reached Earth, via the Moon.

I belong to a unit of the expeditionary forces assigned to take a special interest in the history of this planet. We have made good progress and now have a clear picture of the origin of Earth.

We have even discovered some old manuscripts. I have before me a fairly recent one. It is dated 1957, and there is a photograph attached to it.

Everything on Earth is different now, only the shape of man has remained the same. The man in the photograph is like those we found on the Moon, where they arrived as refugees.

He has deep-set, almost flickering eyes, a knobby nose, bushy eyebrows and long dishevelled hair. His moustache between his nose and chin nearly covers his mouth, and his name is written underneath the photograph: Albert Schweitzer.

What I have before me is the manuscript of one of his speeches. But this speech is an appeal.

Albert Schweitzer speaks of the danger of radio-activity and atomic bombs.

Yes, these words "fell under the table" exactly 2000 years ago. Mankind did not listen to them and had to suffer bitterly for it. A thousand years later, Earth was ravaged by the explosion which first called our attention to this planet. The waters of the ocean overflowed the mountain ranges and became mixed with soil and rock in a boiling mud. With great difficulty a few humans escaped to the Moon in rockets.

Their descendants live there still, but the dwelling place of their forefathers is closed to them for ever, because 2000 years ago the words of one man fell under the table.

First published in "Hamburger Morgenpost." Translated by Heinz.

the US Navy forcibly tows their boat away from where they plan to go, they will be exposed to too much fall-out, thus conceivably becoming more radio-active than is "permissible." But suppose they are fissionised or fused or otherwise injured? Whatever suffering their expedition involves, apart from what will come to their families, they will not be inflicting on others; they will only be letting it happen to themselves.

Thanks to the nuclear explosions that have already taken place, there probably isn't a baby on this planet who isn't radio-active now. For them that is warning enough. They would respond by interposing their own bodies, if necessary, between the lethal rays that might be prevented and generations yet unborn. It is through actions they would speak. Their techniques of communication may not be perfect. But why wait for perfection?

What they are asking for is not disintegration for themselves or for anybody else. They are asking for a chance to demonstrate their faith in a better way than the current arms race. This expedition is a challenge to any Americans who will listen to stop saying to the hydrogen bomb "Though thou slay us—all of us—yet will we trust thee."

What these four rely on is not the calculated risk of exterminating millions of other human beings. They are counting on the incalculable power of God to work through an aroused conscience in men.



# Encouraging signs of change in the Labour Party

—Mrs. Joyce Butler, MP

"THERE are an increasing number of people looking at the problems of peace and war, Mrs. Joyce Butler, MP, told a conference of Labour Party, Co-operative and Trade Union delegates organised by the Labour Peace Fellowship last Saturday.

Seconded by Leslie Hale, MP, Mrs. Butler moved a resolution expressing opposition to the flight of planes over Britain loaded with nuclear weapons, and the establishment of rocket sites.

The resolution, adopted without dissent and to be sent to the National Executive of the Labour Party, urged: Immediate summit talks; opposition to the manufacture, use and testing of nuclear weapons; a substantial reduction of conventional armaments on a planned basis and the diversion of resources to strengthen Britain's economy and to help the under-developed countries.

Speaking of the extreme gravity of the situation revealed by the White Paper on defence, Mrs. Butler said:

"It has posed the issue sharply before us: Total peace or total war. This is an advance on the woolly thinking of the past. The issues are clear.

"I do not think there would be much difficulty in persuading the Party to demand an end to the manufacture of the H-bomb," she declared. There were encouraging signs of change in the Party, with the atmosphere in the Parliamentary Party greatly improved and more tolerance of the people who hold pacifist views.

Leslie Hale, MP declared that the House of Commons "is not being given the truth about the H-bomb planes flying over Britain."

"The Prime Minister's statements

on the risks are grossly misleading."

Turning to basic principles he said that those who did not believe in the brotherhood of man did not have much faith in socialism.

"Our military expenditure today is killing children all over the world."

The H-bomb issue was a moral issue. "I'd rather my kids were killed by a bomb dropped on London than that they should drop bombs on others," he declared.

Britain should contract out of the cold war; abandon her arms expenditure and introduce a policy of building instruments of construction.

## The Gandhi of Italy acquitted

DANILO DOLCI, the "Gandhi of Italy," who was under sentence of two months imprisonment, has now been absolutely acquitted by an Italian Court of Appeal.

Dolci drew world attention when he was brought to trial in March, 1956, after a non-violent resistance campaign in Sicily on behalf of the Sicilian poor. Although acquitted of the charges of outrage and resisting two policemen, he was found guilty of trespass and served one month and 20 days' imprisonment.

Meanwhile the Rome Chief of Police brought to the attention of the Rome office of the Public Prosecutor a chapter of Dolci's book "Inchiesta a Palermo" (Palermo Inquiry) which had been published in the review Nuori Argomenti.

On a charge of obscenity, Dolci and Alberto Carocci, editor of the review, were tried, each receiving a sentence of two months' imprisonment.

"Palermo Inquiry" is an account of 6,300 answers given by 600 persons to questions put by Dolci and his 15 helpers. In the second part of the book appear 36 personal stories, two of which were alleged to be obscene because they recounted the experiences of two boys in a licensed brothel. Other pages of harsh realism in the book the court also found to be injurious to public decency.

Dolci's two advocates claimed that the work was one of scientific inquiry which only men of science could judge, and that the harsh details were necessary because of the nature of the argument and the needs of the investigation.

At the first trial this plea was rejected, reports *L'Incontro*, but it was accepted by the Court of Appeal, and Dolci and Carocci were acquitted.

## Barbara Castle, M.P., replies to Press protest

From Basil Delaine, S. Rhodesia

RHODESIAN journalists, all prim and angry, amused me, in a depressing sort of way, when they protested to Barbara Castle and the editors of the Sunday Pictorial and Daily Express about alleged inaccuracies in reports concerning that incident in a "white" Rhodesian hotel when Mrs. Castle dined with African MP Mr. Wellington Chirwa.

They were, of course, splitting hairs with great gusto.

They maintained that white settlers did not "walk out in a body" when Chirwa walked in. Only two walked out they said.

They were not so sure about the number of protests made to the management of the hotel. But they felt it couldn't have been "several."

I am happy to report that not all members of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists were in favour of the protest.



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## Driven to accept non-violence — MP

"LET Britain resign from the suicide club and start the disarmament race!"

This appeal is made in a new pamphlet by Frank Allaun, MP, "Stop the H-bomb Race," published on Monday by the Union of Democratic Control.

Examining the risks of unilateral action, he declares:

"Even if Russia wished to seize us, which I very much doubt . . . I'd prefer even that to the people of Britain, Europe and the world being wiped out with hydrogen bombs, which is what a war would mean."

He goes on to appeal for consideration of non-violent techniques.

"There has been an astonishing growth in these ideas in the last four years. Thinking men and women who have never called themselves pacifists have been driven to the acceptance of non-violent methods by the very growth of dreadfulness of modern arms."

Earl Russell, in a comment on the pamphlet, says it "should appeal both to common sense and all human feeling."

The pamphlet illustrated by a Vicky cartoon, costs 6d. or 5s. a dozen post free, and may be ordered from Housmans, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, or from the UDC.

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## Nuclear disarmament and peace

The following statement was issued by the General Secretary of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation last week:

The Fellowship of Reconciliation welcomes the campaign for nuclear disarmament. Whilst believing that such a campaign will be of great value in many directions, and being glad to know that many minds are seriously burdened by the problem of war in a nuclear age, pacifists should have no illusions that it can take the place of our own peculiar responsibility which is peace-making without war, rather than the rejection of particularly unpleasant methods of war-making.

The problem is war itself, and Christians, pacifist and non-pacifist, have declared that the war method cannot be in accord with the will of God. The rejection of the H-bomb leaves many other methods of making war and the warlike mind in existence. We believe that the first step is for individuals to renounce war and all part in it.

In January the Fellowship of Reconciliation's General Committee agreed that the time had come to intensify our efforts throughout the membership, and beyond, to confront Christians and others with the full demands of Christian discipleship. Plans for a campaign along these lines are nearing completion; its fulfilment will need all the energy of word and action of those who have already committed themselves to the way of peace. If we are silent, who is there to speak of the true Way to peace?

While urging those who are not committed to the full pacifist position to go whatever distance they can, the Fellowship of Reconciliation is certain that its duty is to urge beyond, significantly beyond, nuclear disarmament, into paths still untried, but which we believe to be the way of God. We are calling our members to this task, and in the immediate future our groups will be offered plans for action.



## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

## Friday, February 21

**BOWES PARK:** 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, London, N.13. Speaker: Eric Sly (Soc. of Friends). "Christianity, Politics and Power." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

**ILKLEY:** Wells Road Assembly Hall. Film Conference: "Shadow of Hiroshima" and "Walk to Freedom." Speakers: John Rex and John A. Kay. UNA in co-operation with the Soc. of Friends (Sec. C. Daugherty, 7 Princess Rd., Ilkley).

## Saturday, February 22

**BRIGHTON:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Centre, Ship Street. Film evening on Work-Camps and Relief Work. Questions answered. FPC and IVS.

**LEEDS:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Violin and piano recital by Arthur and Winifred Percival. PPU.

**LEEDS:** 3.0 p.m.; Carlton Hill Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane (Behind BBC). Annual General Meeting, Yorkshire Area PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. Speaker: Dorothy Case, "Coloured Children in a London Day-Nursery." Education Commission, PPU.

## Sunday, February 23

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3.30 p.m.; 32 Tavistock Sq. Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse: S. E. Parker "Why I am an Anarchist."

**WARRINGTON:** 8.0 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Buttermarket Street, Frank Alloun, MP, Dennis Wrigley, Proposed Liberal Candidate for Knutsford. Subject "The Nuclear Arms Race." Admission Free. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

## Monday, February 24

**EDINBURGH:** 7.45 p.m. Usher Hall. Public Meeting "Nuclear Threat and Scotland." Speakers include Rt. Rev. Dr. George F. MacLeod, Professor C. H. Waddington. Tickets 6d. from Mrs. M. Stewart, 12 Dean Park Cres., Edinburgh. Phone: DEA 1592.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6 p.m. 47 Witley Court, Woburn Place (opp. Royal Hotel). Discussion on New Programme and dates for resumption of regular meetings. Central London PPU Group. Refreshments.

## Wednesday, February 26

**BRIDGWATER:** 7.30 p.m.; Charter Hall. Any Questions? "Do Missiles Deter?" Panel includes Stuart Morris. Chairman: Vincent Burston, Bridgewater Peace Group.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. Speaker: Fred Moorhouse "The International Implications of Polar Exploration." Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

**LONDON, W.1:** 6.30 p.m.; Indian Students' Union and Hostel, 41 Fitzroy Square. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussions. Buffet tea before meeting.

## Thursday, February 27

**BRIGHTON:** 7.30 p.m.; 25 Vernon Terrace, Seven Dials. Speaker: Mrs. Evelyn Peat, "The Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom." PPU Group.

**HAMPSHIRE:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, 120 Heath Street, North London Action Council for War on Want. Speaker: Brooke Marvin "Personal Experiences of Poverty in Algeria and Generosity in North London." PPU.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU.

**LIVERPOOL:** 7.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street (Back of Walker Art Gallery). Speaker: Wilfred Wellock "The Condition of America and its Significance." Sponsored by the Liverpool and District Peace Board.

**LIVERPOOL:** 7.45 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Group Study. Leader Freda Collins. "Non-Violence." PPU.

## Friday, February 28

**LONDON** Local Tribunal for COs. Fulham Town Hall (opposite Fulham Broadway Underground Station). Morning 10.30 a.m. Afternoon 1.15 p.m. Public admitted.

**LONDON, N.10:** 7.45 p.m.; 80 Muswell Hill Road. Annual General Meeting, North London Action Council for War on Want.

## Saturday, March 1

**PLYMOUTH:** 3 p.m.; Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain. Area Meeting for Devon and Cornwall. Followed by Public Meeting at 7 p.m. Speaker: Stuart Morris "The H-bomb and You." PPU.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 4 p.m.; Beehive, Bishopgate Street (off Broad Street). Annual Party. Programme will include a Film Show and Conjuring Display. Adults 2s., children 1s. Preceded by Jumble Sale at 2 p.m. in aid of Area Funds. Members offering help come to Beehive at 1 p.m. Offers of Jumble to L. G. Malloes, 91 Farren Road, Birmingham, 31.

## Sunday, March 2

**NOTTINGHAM:** 6.30 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Friar Lane. Speaker: Harold Bing "The War Resisters International."

## Monday, March 3

**LONDON:** 7.30 p.m.; Caxton Hall. The answer to Duncan Sandys "Total peace—we say yes!" Speakers: Emrys Hughes, MP, Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, Stuart Morris and others. Chairman: Sybil Morrison. Organised by PPU.

## Wednesday, March 5

**ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA:** 7 p.m.; 78a Norman Road. Monthly Meeting. Speaker: Terence Chivers "What has Pacifism to say today and how can we make it known?" Friends welcome. PPU.

## Every week!

## SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

## TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

## THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

## FRIDAYS

**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

## Disarmament abandoned

ROY SHERWOOD reviews

Disarmament And Peace In British Politics, 1914-1919, by Gerda Richard Crosby Cambridge, Mass., USA. Harvard University Press.

AT no moment of the present or the last century has the term disarmament, as used by military experts and statesmen, meant more than reduction in armaments.

The true meaning of total abolition went out of fashion well before, at the same rate of attenuation as that of the intensification of nationalisms.

In its reduced meaning, disarmament found its first outstanding champion, after the Congress of Vienna, in Czar Alexander II; and its second, after the Hague Conference of 1899, in Czar Nicholas II, both of whom managed in some mysterious way to reconcile external liberalism with internal despotism.

Today it is again Russia that stands in the forefront of disarmament propagation, so that one might be tempted to think the Soviet leaders' attitude to be the same as that of the two Czars. But there is a fundamental difference.

The Czars had no ambition to export their despotism, whereas the most serious charge that could be made against the Soviet leaders' sincerity would be that they did not care whether the rest of the world "went Red" or not.

To acknowledge the fact of their ever-present urge to see Communism adopted in other countries does not however invalidate the genuineness of their disarmament proposals. They have for a long time been well ahead of the West in recognising that the struggle of our time is one of minds and economics, in which soldiers, bombs

and rockets are as useless as oil is against fire.

How greatly the history of the past 40 years, culminating in the present West v. Soviets position, has been influenced by the change in our own country's attitude to disarmament during and since World War I is well brought out in this study by Gerda Richard Crosby.

As late as 1917 the British Labour Party still accepted the Arthur Henderson plan of abolition of all compulsory military service, limitation of armaments, abolition of all private arms manufacture.

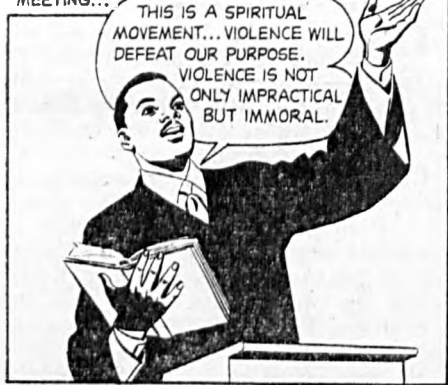
One by one, these positions were abandoned, and worse than that, so was the original intention that the League of Nations Covenant should become the very foundation of the peace treaty. Nor was the all-important Article VIII of the Covenant, the faithful execution of which would have averted the inception and rise of the Hitler movement in Germany, ever allowed to be more than a dead letter.

A sad story in itself, this falling away from high ideals, with its calculated distortion or ill-concealed disregard of President Wilson's 14 points, led to the tragedy of World War II. The third one will fatally come if the misconception that Communism is a military enemy is allowed to propel the nuclear arms race to its inevitable end.

## THE MONTGOMERY STORY

Under the leadership of Negro minister, Martin Luther King, the Negroes of the city of Montgomery, Alabama, decided to boycott the buses until they were shown greater respect during travel. The story is related by an anonymous Negro, "call me Jones."

JANUARY 30, 1956. SOMETHING HAPPENED ON THAT DAY THAT TOUCHED MY HEART AND DID SOMETHING TO ME. MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS SPEAKING AT A MEETING...



MRS. KING WAS AT HOME TALKING TO A FRIEND...



MARTIN LUTHER KING RUSHED HOME. A CROWD WAS GATHERED OUTSIDE. THEY WERE IN AN ANGRY MOOD, WANTING TO ANSWER VIOLENCE WITH VIOLENCE. AND THEN KING SPOKE TO THEM.



LATER, WE WALKED BACK THROUGH THE NIGHT TO OUR HOMES...



Prepared by the Al Capp Organisation for the US Fellowship of Reconciliation. The complete story in booklet form is being distributed at 10 cents each in the USA: Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

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## MEETINGS

The FIRST SECRETARY of the Soviet Embassy will speak on "Soviet interests in Africa" at a public meeting of the African Forum on Feb. 25, at 7.30 p.m., at 32 Percy Street, London, W.1 (off Tottenham Court Road). Admission free.

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# THAT TV SCHOOLS PROGRAMME ON H-BOMB TESTS

By Sheila Jones

Sheila Jones, scientist and member of the Executive of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, writes in protest at the BBC TV programme for schools, "Spotlight on Nuclear Bomb Tests," televised on Feb. 13.

THE announcement in the Radio Times about this programme stated that in addition to presenting the scientific evidence about the effects of nuclear tests, there would be two speakers to give their personal views for and against the continuation of tests.

## Unbalanced presentation

Instead of this, after an objective account of the radiation hazards from a scientist, all that followed was a résumé by Robert McKenzie of the reasons (as expressed by Selwyn Lloyd) why the West would not agree to stop nuclear tests unless this were part of a broader disarmament agreement with the Russians.

No-one else spoke in reply to these views, and in consequence this programme was a very unbalanced presentation of the arguments for and against the continuation of tests. As this was a schools programme, this was particularly unfortunate, since the audience would be less likely to have read other arguments against H-bomb tests as presented in the more enlightened adult Press.

The scientific evidence, presented by Heinz Wolff, a young scientist from the Medical Research Council, included pictures illustrating the nature of the atom, and the manner in which fall-out is globally distributed by nuclear bomb explosions. The way in which radioactive particles are absorbed by the human body, and the damage which radioactivity can cause to living cells was clearly explained. Pictures of mice, whose parents had been exposed to radiation damage, showed hereditary effects due to this cause.

A diagram was shown giving the proportion of radiation dose which we receive from various sources, with only one per cent of the total due to tests. Whether this increase in radiation dose caused by tests is serious or not, cannot, as the scientist made clear, be settled until more scientific evidence is available.

## No arguments against

Since scientists don't agree about the radiation hazards, the schools were told, this was perhaps a reason why we wanted to get agreement to stop the tests. Robert McKenzie was then introduced, and said that the British Government was prepared to abolish tests as part of a broader agreement which included the abolition of conventional weapons. He gave the following reasons why the Russian offer to abolish tests could not be accepted:

- (1) because the Foreign Secretary suspects that some kinds of explosion cannot be detected;
- (2) because the H-bomb must be there as a deterrent to the Russian forces;

## Crossword winner

THE winner of Peace News Christmas Crossword is Miss N. Haggis of Dial Cottage, Woldingham, Surrey. She receives a 10s. 6d. book token for the first correct entry at our office.

The solutions to the clues are given below.

Across: 1, Prince of peace; 10, Nominee; 12, A beach; 14, Anita; 16, Tenses; 17, Bikini; 18, Imply; 19, Deeper; 21, Digit; 23, Gloss; 25, Apple; 27, Panama; 29, Caper; 30, Iberia; 31, Effect; 32, Fauna; 35, Nettled; 37, Adeline; 39, End the cold war; 40, Err; 42, Romance; 43, Nun; 44, Even; 45, Feat; 46, 7; 47, Chasing; 48, United Nations; 49, Christmas; 50, Inn; 51, Fasting; 52, Baby; 53, Impromptu; 54, Pal; 55, 24; 56, Spread; 57, Preston; 58, America; 59, Cafe; 60, Adze; 61, NATO; 62, Lit; 63, End.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters, DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

- (3) tests must be continued so that we could have efficient and up-to-date supplies of nuclear weapons.

The programme ended by asking whether perhaps there was too much gloom about the effects of H-bombs, since the danger from fall-out was not greatly increased as a result of tests. The schools were left to discuss for themselves the question as to whether the value of the H-bomb as a deterrent balanced the damage which may be caused by nuclear test explosions.

On telephoning the TV studios to enquire why no speaker had appeared to give

views against the continuation of tests, as advertised, the producer's secretary said that since the scientists' account of radiation hazards had seemed to indicate that tests might cause some radiation damage, it was decided to balance this by expressing the political views in favour of the continuation of tests. She stated that there had been no pressure put on them to express only the Government's views on this issue.

Whoever was responsible for deciding to cut out the moral and political arguments against tests, simply because the scientific evidence was slightly weighted in favour of their discontinuance, is clearly guilty of faulty reasoning.

Scientific evidence is objective; political arguments are always biased. I hope all parents and teachers who saw this programme will write to the producer (Ivan Gilman) at BBC Television Centre, Wood Lane, London, W.12, and protest at this unbalanced presentation.

## Christianity in action

A PEACE NEWS PROFILE OF CANON COLLINS

By Margaret Tims



THE Chairman of the Executive Committee of the newly-formed Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, L. John Collins, is Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral and Chairman of the movement "Christian Action" which he founded at Oxford in 1946.

It was the Allied policy towards Germany in 1945 and 1946 which led Canon Collins, then Dean of Oriel College, to issue "A Call to Christian Action in Public Affairs" and to organise a public meeting in Oxford in December, 1946, at which the speakers were the Bishop of Chichester, Sir Richard Acland, Roger Wilson, Barbara Ward, John Collins, and Victor Gollancz as guest of the meeting.

Out of this enormously successful meeting Christian Action was born and rapidly grew into a significant national movement, sprung from the positive conception of "a fellowship of Christians whose common aim is to serve God as citizens by translating their faith into action in public as well as private life."

It moves spontaneously to meet a need, and has never yet been short of a job to do. It seeks to arouse the public conscience and initiate action, which may then be carried forward by a national organisation.

Amongst its varied projects have been the improvement of the position of German prisoners of war in England; sponsorship of the first post-war visit to this country of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra; aid to Palestine refugees; propaganda for road safety; and initiating action in the campaign against capital punishment.

Last year Christian Action launched the South African Treason Trial Fund, appealing for £10,000 to aid those held in custody and their families. This target was quickly reached and raised to £20,000, then to £50,000. Contributions so far received total £44,000, including a sum of £6,000 raised by a separate Labour Party appeal which has now merged with the fund.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom has also co-operated in this campaign from the beginning. The great bulk of the money has come from individual British subscribers, although support has also been received from Commonwealth countries, the USA, Belgium, France, Ghana, Sweden and Switzerland.

Christian Action was born in 1946 but the idea was already germinating in John

Collins' mind when, as a Chaplain in the RAF, he ran discussion groups for servicemen and women. He was not at that time a pacifist and, he says, he was profoundly unhappy about his position.

Since the war he has been driven to a conviction of personal pacifism: and he is equally unhappy about that. He has no doubts about his conviction, but he sees the problem of the Christian in society who must discover how to proclaim the gospel without becoming anarchic and decide how far to accept his place in society.

He sees also the dilemma of the Christian statesmen, particularly in a democracy where the majority in whose name he acts is not endowed with his own hope of resurrection from the Cross. Nevertheless, Canon Collins firmly believes that we must work out our faith through political machinery. He is himself a member of the Labour Party, although that does not mean that he will not work with those of other political views.

He believes in common ownership of the land and the main means of production, whilst agreeing with those Liberals who hold that a certain number of private possessions may be regarded as a symbol of the personality. As a pointer towards a new kind of society he welcomes the formation of "Deminty" (Society for Democratic Integration in Industry), of which he is a Vice-President.

Canon Collins hopes to take Christian Action along with him in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which he regards as only a first step towards total disarmament, but one which can unite the pacifist and non-pacifist. He does not yet envisage the next stage and is content to go one step at a time.

He would favour a careful study of Sir Stephen King-Hall's idea of a non-violent defence policy. At the very least, it will re-shape our thinking on matters of defence. And it may be a means of proving, as the Christian has always held, that the right and moral thing to do is also the expedient one.

It is hard to believe that Canon Collins is really an unhappy man. He carries his conscience gaily and is fired by a truly living faith. He is a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. He does not preach pacifism, he says, or any other ism: he preaches the gospel and that leads unavoidably to the pacifist line. He seeks to practise what he preaches. He will be known, and judged, by his works.

## How not to get disarmament

Frank Alloun, MP, reviews the Defence White Paper

"HOW NOT to get disarmament." That should be the title of Mr. Duncan Sandy's latest White Paper.

Instead he prefers to entitle it "Britain's Contribution to Peace and Security."

He states:

"If Russia were to launch a major attack on them" ("the democratic Western nations"), "even with conventional forces only, they would have to hit back with strategic nuclear weapons."

What sort of effect is that kind of talk going to have in Moscow on the eve (we hope) of summit talks? Similar threats from Mr. Khrushchov against us would not be considered exactly helpful.

This White Paper is tantamount to saying to the Russians:

"Look here, if you're going to attack you might as well do it with H-bombs, since we're going to drop 'em on you whatever weapons you use."

This is going to accelerate the arms race.

And who decides what is a "major attack"? General Norstad, Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery or Mr. Dulles? If trouble arises on the East-West dividing line in Germany, it might be construed as a major attack or an incident in the Middle East, or a movement of troops across the Korean partition line.

I repeat: surely this kind of attitude by the British Government and its White Papers increases rather than lessens the tension. Hence it increases rather than lessens the difficulties of securing disarmament, to which, of course, Mr. Sandys pays lip service.

## BALLISTIC ROCKETS

If this is "Britain's Contribution to Peace and Security" I wouldn't like to see it getting really aggressive! In fact many of us would rather see no contribution at all.

Mr. Sandys, however, should not be under-rated. His new survey shows that he realises even more clearly than in his last publication that there is no such thing as defence today. He is, in fact, the Minister of No Defence.

"Following upon the decision, announced a year ago, that it was not practicable to defend the country as a whole against nuclear attack, Fighter Command now has the more limited task of protecting the bomber bases; and its strength is being correspondingly reduced. When the Russians, in addition to manned bombers, have ballistic rockets in sufficient numbers, capable of knocking out airfields in Britain, the value of a fighter defence system will obviously decrease; and the same will apply to a missile defence system, effective only against aircraft."

That's something of an admission. So the Minister covers himself by adding the words: "But that point has not yet been reached."

At the present speed of the nuclear arms race how long does he think it will take before that point is reached?

## WHO reports on smog

The establishment of air pollution advisory councils and legal enforcement of anti-pollution measures in all countries is advised by the World Health Organisation. A committee of experts has reported on cheap and satisfactory filtering systems and notes that in Britain 4,000 died in four days of smog in 1952 and 1,000 in London in one day in 1956.

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TOTAL PEACE—WE SAY YES

on Sunday, February 23 at 2 p.m.

HYDE PARK, SPEAKERS' CORNER



# HELP THIS SPANISH CO

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

ON Friday night I heard from the London representative of the Spanish Trade Union CNT that a Spanish stowaway, Joaquim Perez Selles, was in Brixton Prison awaiting deportation.

He arrived in this country three months ago, was arrested three weeks ago, and was taken to a boat of the MacAndrew Line and told, I am assured, that he would be able to land in France.

On board he learned that the first port of call would be Bilbao in Spain. This would have meant that he would have been handed over to the Spanish authorities, with the certainty of a long-term imprisonment and perhaps death.

He then informed the captain that when the boat reached open sea he would throw himself overboard rather than return to Spain.

In these circumstances the captain declined to take responsibility for him and he was returned to Brixton Prison.

Selles had deserted from the Spanish Navy. He is an anti-Fascist and has repeatedly refused to serve in the Spanish Armed Forces.

## Imprisoned

He first left Spain when due for military service in 1950, stowing away on a Swedish boat to Rouen. There he was arrested by the French police and detained for 48 days, after which a Court freed him, with the right to remain in France.

He joined the crew of a Norwegian ship, but later the boat, en route to Lisbon, developed engine trouble and had to put in to Pasajes on the north coast of Spain, where he was taken into custody by the Spanish police and sent to the Navy.

In December, 1952, he deserted from the Navy, was caught by the Civil Guard while trying to escape to France across the Pyrenees, and jailed for two years.

On the completion of his sentence he was returned to the Navy; this time he deserted in New York, was turned over to the Franco

authorities by the American police and taken back to Spain.

He was sentenced to imprisonment for two years, six months, and one day. The extra day on the sentence means that no remission could be granted. At the end of this sentence he was sent to a Naval Disciplinary Battalion. After ten months—that is, last October—he escaped and stowed away on a boat to Britain.

On arriving Selles made an application for political asylum. This was not allowed, but I am now pressing very strongly, in view of this consistent and courageous record, that he should be permitted to stay in this country as a political refugee.

As many people and organisations as possible should support this demand by letters and telegrams to the Home Secretary.

## GOLDEN RULE

★ FROM PAGE ONE

Marsh reply. When I got back ashore I asked Marsh what in the world could Bert be asking at that point. 'He wanted to know which way he ought to go around Catalina Island!' Famous last words!

A wireless message from the ketch last Friday reported all well. Heavy winds on the previous day—about 30 knots, but "a beautiful day today."

Extracts from the dock-side service will appear in Peace News next week.

## Briefly

**Aldermaston March.** Frank Allaun, MP, is questioning the Minister of Works' right to prevent the march starting from Trafalgar Square on Good Friday.

**Delegates from students organisations, UNA, the Labour Party and Co-op Party and other organisations attended an off-the-record conference called by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in London on Tuesday.**

# THE WESTMINSTER RALLIES

FROM PAGE TWO

tests really were, the danger was greater than governments would admit.

The world was becoming radio-active in varying degrees. Ten days after the Bikini explosion the rain was five thousand times as radio-active as normal, and—this was not generally known—animals and plants became much more radio-active than the water and soil they depended upon.

After Bikini, the USA Navy thought they'd like some crabs. They caught them, but found they were two thousand times as radio-active as the water in which they lived.

The most dangerous substance was Strontium 90. It attacked bones and caused cancer, also caused children to be born mentally defective.

The British atomic scientists who investigated the matter came to the conclusion that the Bikini explosions will have caused 50,000 cancers.

It was interesting to reflect, said Earl Russell, that if you gave one man cancer deliberately or caused one child to be born mentally defective, you would be thought a monster; but if you caused 50,000 you were thought a great patriot.

It was tragic that the same government which spent large sums of money in research for the cure of cancer spent a great deal more on causing cancer.

## Which is the greater risk?

One of their first aims, he thought, should be to prevent the spread of H-bombs to nations not having them at present.

In order that Britain can take part in such a campaign, it was absolutely necessary that we renounce the bomb ourselves.

Nuclear weapons, however, were not their only concern, said Earl Russell. They had also to work for less hostile relations between East and West.

Whenever the Russians made any pro-

posals we were always told they were insincere; the Russians were told the same. It was therefore necessary that we should make sincere proposals, which could be adopted without gain to either side.

"We are told there is a risk in negotiating," he concluded, but people forget, quite forget, the greater risk in not negotiating—namely, the extermination of the human race.

## A challenge to youth

Sir Richard Acland, moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and all responsible for the meeting, said he believed that as a result of it there would be a great difference between tomorrow and yesterday for all people under the age of 35.

He had had much to do with younger people lately, and had found amongst them—compared with the 1930s—an extraordinary frustration, a lack of interest in political affairs; there were no great issues to get excited about.

In the past, they said, all the issues were clear-cut: the slave trade, the fight for trade unionism, old-age pensions, women's suffrage, and so on. But what had they today?

This meeting, he said, was the answer to that feeling of frustration.

There was now a campaign with an issue clear enough to be understood, and big enough to deserve the support of anyone who has morality, Christianity, or even plain common sense, as part of his equipment.

Speaking at an over-flow meeting, Dr. Alex Comfort said: "If any Government or party were to announce the repudiation of nuclear weapons, unilaterally and without further argument, the whole moral atmosphere of this country would change overnight, and I do not think that change would remain purely domestic."

"Much has been said about a Summit conference," he declared. "Sanity is always hardest to restore at the summit—

By Sybil Morrison

# Total peace: we say 'yes'

"The world to-day is poised between the hope of total peace and the fear of total war. . . . There is no military reason why a world conflagration should not be prevented for another generation or more through the balancing fears of mutual annihilation. . . . The democratic Western nations will never start a war against Russia. But it must be well understood that, if Russia were to launch a major attack on them, EVEN WITH CONVENTIONAL FORCES ONLY (emphasis mine) they would have to hit back with strategic weapons . . . a full scale Soviet attack could not be repelled without resort to a massive nuclear bombardment of the sources of power in Russia . . . the free world cannot afford to lower its guard . . ."

—The Minister of Defence White Paper on Defence. Feb., 1958.

TO judge from his latest White Paper on Defence, splendidly entitled "Britain's Contribution to Peace and Security," Mr. Sandys comes down strongly, if not on the side of total war, at least on the side of Total Fear and Permanent Insecurity.

There is, throughout this document, a formidable sincerity; plainly he has placed all his faith on "the deterrent effect of the West's vast stockpile of nuclear weapons and its capacity to deliver them".

He appears to have just awakened to the fact that this means, what pacifists have recognised a long time ago, that the choice today lies between total war and total peace. He does not actually use these words, since he only "hopes" for total peace, and meanwhile conceives it to be his primary duty to prepare for total war.

If it were not for this tragic avoidance of the real issues, much of what he says could be supported by pacifists, for he maintains, rightly, that though this balancing on the razor-edge brink of complete catastrophe could go on indefinitely, it would be but "a mournful prospect".

Nevertheless he states, quite without equivocation, that there can be no confidence or peace, so long as the arms race

## COURSE ON NON-VIOLENCE

A course on non-violence has been scheduled by the College of the Pacific, USA. Information may be had from Ben Seaver, American Friends Service Committee, Sutter Street, San Francisco, California.

the air there is rarified. It seems to affect the brain. We can reassert it at the base. The people must take over."

"I do not see the parties giving an answer to the hundreds of people of all persuasions who are asking what they individually can do to reassert the rule of sanity."

"That is the foundation of the campaign we are launching tonight: to make every individual reassume the moral responsibility for opposing insanity. The issue is one for direct action."

The full text of Dr. Comfort's speech will be published in Peace News next week.

## Police dogs threaten demonstrators

POLICE brutalities have been reported against demonstrators in Downing Street following Monday night's anti-H-bomb rally.

When the police sought to remove them the demonstrators staged a spontaneous sit-down strike in the street. Novelist Doris Lessing told Peace News she was bodily dragged to her feet and thrown over others into the crowd still seated.

Police were seen beating and kicking demonstrators, although the demonstrators did not assault the police. A photographer was chased away by the police, and a man who politely protested against this was told "Shut up! Or I'll bash your face!"

Dogs on leashes were used by the police to intimidate the people, adding to the crowd's excitement.

One observer said: "It is a sign of what may be in store for H-bomb demonstrators, and a warning of the need for disciplined non-violent behaviour in the face of provocation—including snarling dogs."

Several arrests were made. One boy was fined £14 at Bow Street. Several others were fined smaller amounts, and the case of Mervyn Jones of Tribune was held over.

continues, and declares his belief that some means must be found to halt it.

Yet, almost in the next sentence he urges that the utmost care should be taken "to keep the balance of military power and deterrents" which, in his view, "constitute the sole safeguard of peace".

If ever there were an official document which advocated a doctrine of total despair, this White Paper must surely take pride of place; its stark acceptance of fear, and its terrifying lack of any positive proposals for overcoming that fear, is appalling in its bankrupt futility.

This desperate attempt to make the Soviet Union understand that the West is in no mood for "appeasement", and that any temptation Russia may have to launch an attack anywhere in the world, under the erroneous impression that the West would flinch from using its nuclear power, can scarcely hope to achieve anything but a tightening of tension, and an increase of fear.

If the Soviet Union were to issue an official statement making any of these declarations, let alone all of them, it would be rightly regarded in this country as aggressive and threatening to the highest degree.

It is difficult to understand how any sane person could expect to reach agreements about disarmament, while holding before his face a shield of nuclear stockpiles, so that he cannot see his opponent, and cannot be heard for the noise of his clanking armour. This is indeed a policy of complete despair.

Duncan Sandys declares that nothing less than control of all nuclear weapons by a world authority makes sense today. Yet it is surely plain to see, that so long as there are immense stockpiles in existence there is no authority in the world that could exercise control, unless by force.

The White Paper makes it clear that even if a war were started with "conventional" weapons, nuclear power would inevitably be used. Obviously, therefore, nothing less than total abandonment of all weapons makes any sense today.

Equally obvious is the inescapable conclusion that some one nation must give the lead towards total peace, by abolishing their armaments unconditionally.

Duncan Sandys has faced us with the issue: Total Peace or Total War? Let us give a resounding answer, one that will ring round the world: WE SAY TOTAL PEACE.

## Total peace meeting planned by Peace Pledge Union

FOLLOWING the statement by the Minister of Defence that the choice is between total peace or total war, the Peace Pledge Union have decided to focus their efforts upon the answer that should be given to this question.

On the day of the White Paper's publication Caxton Hall was booked for March 3, leaflets prepared and given out at the big Nuclear Disarmament meeting at the Central Hall, new posters printed, and a Hyde Park meeting arranged for Sunday, March 2.

Kathleen Lonsdale, Emrys Hughes, MP, and Stuart Morris have agreed to speak and the PPU hope to secure at least two more good names. Sybil Morrison, Chairman of the PPU, will preside.

A PPU spokesman said other meetings will be planned all over the country to give a nation-wide answer to Mr. Sandys: Total Peace—We say yes.

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